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## What Is Still Living in the Political Philosophy of Thomas Jefferson\*

*I believe . . . that there exists a right independent of force.*

THOMAS JEFFERSON

MANY nations have traced their history back to some fabled Golden Age, to the beginning of created things, when, as Hesiod said, men lived like gods, free from toil and grief. Our own history can likewise be traced, through its European origins, back to that mythical time. But we commonly think of it as beginning more recently, somewhat abruptly, in the clear light of day, with the settlement at Jamestown, the landing of the Mayflower, and the founding of Massachusetts Bay colony. Men did not then live like gods, or free from toil and grief; but there were among them men of heroic stature, round whom myths have gathered, and whom we delight,

\*The Penrose Lecture, delivered before the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, April 22, 1943, in connection with the celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of Thomas Jefferson. Printed by permission of the Society.

with good reason, to honor. The beginning of our history as an independent nation is still more recent, and still more open to critical inspection, in the still brighter light of the eighteenth century; and yet this is for us still more truly the time of our Golden Age and of our ancestors of heroic stature. Among the founders of the American federal republic (to name only the most distinguished) were Washington, Franklin and John Adams, Alexander Hamilton and John Jay, Robert Morris and James Wilson, Richard Henry Lee, James Madison, and Thomas Jefferson. No doubt we are apt to magnify these "Fathers" beyond their just merits. Their just merits are, nevertheless, sufficient, for it would be difficult to find in the history of any other country, or in the history of our own country at any other time, within a single generation, as many statesmen in proportion to the population of equal distinction for learning, probity, and political intelligence. And of these ten men none exhibited these qualities to better advantage or more lasting effect than Thomas Jefferson.

Jefferson, like Franklin, attained an international as well as a national eminence. Like Franklin, he was familiar with all of the ideas of his time, contributed something to its accumulated knowledge, and was identified with its most notable activities and events. There was indeed scarcely anything of human interest that was alien to his curious and far-ranging intelligence. Nevertheless, his name is for us inevitably associated with a certain general idea, a certain way of regarding man and the life of man, a certain political philosophy. The word that best denotes that philosophy is democracy. More than any other man we think of Jefferson as having formulated the fundamental principles of American democracy, of what we now like to call the American way of life.

Any significant political philosophy is shaped by three different but closely related influences. The first of these is what Alfred North Whitehead has taught us to call the "climate of opinion"—those fundamental presuppositions which in any age so largely determine what men think about the nature of the universe and what can and cannot happen in it, and about the nature of man and what is essential to the good life. The second influence is more specific: it derives from the particular political and social conflicts of the time, which dispose groups and parties to accept a particular interpretation of current ideas as a theoretical support for their practical activities. The third influence is more specific still: it derives from the mind and temperament of the individual who gives to the political philosophy its ordered literary form. Whatever is original in the philosophy is usually contributed by the individual who gives it this form. Whatever value it has for its own time



and place will depend largely on the extent to which it serves to illuminate or resolve the particular political issues of that time and place. But its value for other times and places will depend upon the extent to which the general presuppositions upon which it rests have a universal validity, the extent to which they express some enduring truth about nature and the life of man.

The political philosophy of Thomas Jefferson was not in essentials original with him. It was his only in the sense that he gave to ideas widely accepted at the time and genuinely entertained by him a Jeffersonian form and flavor. Nowhere is this peculiarity of form and flavor more evident than in the famous Declaration of Independence; but Jefferson did not claim that the ideas themselves were in any way novel. Some years later his old friend John Adams, a little irritated (as he was apt to be on slight provocation) by the laudation of Jefferson as the author of the Declaration, protested to Pickering that "there is not an idea in it that was not hackneyed in Congress two years before."<sup>1</sup> To this Jefferson replied that it was not his purpose "to say things which had never been said before, but to place before mankind the common sense of the subject," and to harmonize the "sentiments of the day, whether expressed in conversation, in letters, printed essays, or the elementary books of public right."<sup>2</sup> It was indeed Jefferson's merit, and the high value of the Declaration for his own time, that he expressed in lucid and persuasive form political ideas then widely accepted and thereby provided a reasoned justification for renouncing the authority of the British government. But the Declaration professes to do more than that. In providing the reasons for renouncing the authority of a particular government at a particular time, Jefferson took occasion to formulate the universal principles which, as he thought, could alone justify the authority of any government at any time.

These principles are set forth in a single brief paragraph. We are all familiar with it, having read it or heard it read many times. But it will always, and at no time more than now, bear repeating; and so I will repeat it once more, not exactly as it appears in the Declaration but as Jefferson first wrote it in the original draft.

We hold these truths to be sacred and undeniable; that all men are created equal and independent; that from that equal creation they derive rights inherent and inalienable, among which are the preservation of life, and liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these ends, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government shall become destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying it's founda-

<sup>1</sup> *The Works of John Adams* (Boston, 1850-56), II, 512.

<sup>2</sup> *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (Philadelphia, 1869-71), VII, 304, 407.

tion on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

This brief statement contains the substance of Jefferson's political philosophy, which may be reduced to four principles: (1) that the universe and man in it are governed by natural law; (2) that all men are endowed with certain natural and imprescriptible rights; (3) that governments exist to secure these rights; and (4) that all just governments derive their authority from the consent of the governed. These principles, made explicit in our Federal and state constitutions, are still the foundation of the political system which Thomas Jefferson did so much to establish. It is indeed appropriate, therefore, in this memorial year, for us to ask, What is still living in this political philosophy? In order to answer this question, I will break it down into two more specific questions. First, what did Jefferson understand by natural law and natural rights, and what form of government did he think best suited to secure those rights? And, second, to what extent is his conception of rights and of government still valid for our time?

The doctrine of natural law, as it was understood by Jefferson and his contemporaries, was revolutionary only in the sense that it was a reinterpretation, in secular and liberal terms, of the Christian theory of the origin, nature, and destiny of man. As commonly understood in the eighteenth century, it was perhaps never better defined than by the French writer Volney.

Natural law is the regular and constant order of facts by which God rules the universe; the order which his wisdom presents to the sense and reason of men, to serve them as an equal and common rule of conduct, and to guide them, without distinction of race or sect, towards perfection and happiness.<sup>3</sup>

For Jefferson, as for Volney, God still existed. But for them God the Father of Christian tradition had become attenuated into God the Creator, or First Cause. Having created the world for a beneficent purpose and on a rational plan, the Creator had withdrawn from the immediate and arbitrary control of human affairs into the dim recesses where absolute being dwells, leaving men to work out their own salvation as best they could. But this they could do very well, because the Creator had revealed his purposes, not in Holy Writ but in the open Book of Nature, which all men, in the light of reason, could read and interpret. "Is it simple," exclaimed Rousseau, "is it natural, that God should have gone in search of Moses to speak to Jean Jacques Rousseau?" To Jefferson, as to Volney, it seemed more natural to suppose that God had revealed his purpose in his works, from which it followed that the whole

<sup>3</sup> *Oeuvres de Volney* (2d ed., Paris, 1826), I, 249.

duty of man was progressively to discover the invariable laws of nature and of nature's God and to bring their ideas, their conduct, and their political and social institutions into harmony with them.

From this conception of natural law Jefferson derived the doctrine that all men are created equal and are endowed with certain natural rights. Many otherwise intelligent men have thought to refute Jefferson by pointing out that all men are in fact not equal. With the same ingenuity and poverty of imagination one could refute St. Augustine's doctrine of the brotherhood of man by pointing out that all men are in fact not brothers. St. Augustine would have said that all men are brothers in the sight of God, and Jefferson's doctrine of equality comes to the same thing. All men are equal in the possession of a common humanity, and if they are in fact not equal and have not in fact the same rights and privileges, the highest morality, both for the individual and for society, is to act on the assumption that all men should be accorded, so far as is humanly possible, the same consideration and opportunity. To act on this assumption would be, both for the individual and for society, to do the will of God and to live the good life.

In these respects—in respect to the primary values of life—the natural rights philosophy was essentially at one with the Christian faith; but in respect to the means by which these values might be realized, it differed sharply from current official Christian teaching. It denied that man is naturally prone to evil and error and for that reason incapable, apart from the compulsion of church and state, of arriving at the truth or living the good life. It affirmed, on the contrary, that men are endowed by their Creator with reason, in order that they may progressively discover that which is true, and with conscience, in order that they may be disposed, in the measure of their enlightenment, to follow that which is good. It was perhaps the dominant quality of Jefferson's mind and temperament, as it was of so many of his contemporaries, to have faith in the dignity and worth of the individual man, and it was for this reason that, in respect to the means for achieving the good life, they relied so confidently upon the negative principle of freedom of the individual from social constraint: freedom of opinion, in order that the truth might prevail; freedom of occupation and of enterprise, in order that careers might be open to talent; freedom from arbitrary political authority, in order that no man might be compelled against his will.

These freedoms were precisely what Jefferson meant by "liberty" as one of the natural rights of man, and it was through the fullest enjoyment of these freedoms that the "pursuit of happiness" would be most likely to result in the greatest happiness for the greatest number of men. And so we arrive

at the central idea of the natural rights philosophy as to the proper function of government—the happy idea that the best way to secure the natural rights of men is just to leave them as free as possible to enjoy them, and that no form of government can secure these rights so well as the one that governs least. This idea was so engaging that anyone with an unbounded faith in the natural goodness of men and an equal faith in formal logic could push straight on to the conclusion arrived at by Proudhon—the conclusion that “property is theft,” that all governments exist to condone it, and that men will never be free and happy until all governments are abolished.

Fortunately, Jefferson had not sufficient faith either in logic or in the native goodness of men to carry him that far. He had more faith in the goodness of men than some of his contemporaries—more, for example, than John Adams, but less than some others—less, for example, than Samuel Adams or Thomas Paine. He had a logical mind, but logic was not for him “a systematic way,” as has been said, “of going wrong with confidence”—not, that is, a dialectical device for manipulating empty concepts in the void in vain—but a method of reaching sound conclusions on the basis of knowledge and common sense. History and political experience, rather than abstract political speculation, convinced Jefferson that men had been governed too much, and above all too arbitrarily, by kings claiming divine right, and that among the institutions that obscured the native goodness of men by depriving them of equal rights none was less defensible than a hereditary aristocracy enjoying privileges that were unearned and exacting a deference that was unmerited. It seemed to him self-evident, therefore, that men could govern themselves better than kings and aristocrats, whose powers rested upon the accident of birth, could do it for them. Not that the people could govern themselves in perfection or without difficulty. All forms of government had their evils, and the principal evil of popular government, Jefferson said, was “turbulence”; but “weigh this against the oppressions of monarchy, and it becomes nothing.”<sup>4</sup>

Jefferson was thus profoundly convinced that republican government—government by representatives elected by the people—was the best form, because “it is the only form of government that is not eternally at open or secret war with the rights of mankind.”<sup>5</sup> But what, in concrete instances, did Jefferson mean by the people, and how was the consent of the governed to be obtained? The people in this sense might mean all the people in the world, or all the people in Virginia, or all the people composing a particular

<sup>4</sup> *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Paul L. Ford (New York, 1892-99), IV, 362.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 147.



class or sect. Practical statesman that he was, Jefferson took the world, politically speaking, as he found it, divided into groups that by tradition and community of interest regarded themselves, and were commonly regarded, as nations. Such nations might at any time "assume, among the powers of the earth, that equal and independent station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them." Thus nations as well as individuals had their natural rights—the right of national self-determination. But nations are composed of individuals, and individuals necessarily differ in their interests and opinions; and it seemed to Jefferson self-evident that the only practical way of reconciling these differences was by majority vote. Even a monarchy with all of its trappings, or an aristocracy with all of its privileges, if supported by a majority vote, would be a "just government," because it would rest upon "the consent of the governed."

The right of national self-determination and majority vote—these were fundamental to all of Jefferson's ideas about the particular form of government best suited to any country at any time. Not that majority vote conferred upon the majority of the moment any fundamental right not shared by the minority. It was simply a necessary device imposed upon individuals bound by their nature to live together, and aiming to live together with the maximum degree of harmony and good will; and Jefferson justified it by saying that, this law disregarded, "no other remains but that of force, which ends necessarily in military despotism."<sup>6</sup> There is, of course, no more obdurate problem in political philosophy than the problem of the one and the many, the difficulty being to reconcile the desirable liberties of the individual with the necessary powers of society; and Jefferson was no more successful in solving it than other political philosophers have been. His solution, such as it is, is presented in a letter to Dupont de Nemours, some portions of which I venture to quote, because in it Jefferson states categorically, and perhaps better than anywhere else, the principal tenets of his political faith.

I believe with you that morality, compassion, generosity, are innate elements of the human constitution; that there exists a right independent of force; that the right to property is founded on our natural wants, in the measure with which we are endowed to satisfy these wants, and the right to what we acquire by those means without violating the similar rights of other sensible beings; that no one has a right to obstruct another exercising his faculty innocently for the relief of sensibilities made a part of his nature; that justice is the fundamental law of society; that the majority, oppressing an individual, is guilty of a crime, abuses its strength, and by acting on the law of the strongest breaks up the foundations

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 89.

of society; that action by the citizens in person, in affairs within their reach and competence, and in all others by representatives, chosen immediately, and removable by themselves, constitutes the essence of a republic; that all governments are more or less republican in proportion as this principle enters more or less into their composition; and that government by a republic is capable of extension over a greater surface of country than any other form.<sup>7</sup>

In this passage, as in most of Jefferson's political writings, we can note the disposition to believe that man is naturally good but that men are prone to evil; or, translating it into political terms, that citizens in the mass are to be trusted but that citizens elected to office need to be carefully watched. I have quoted Jefferson as saying that the chief evil of republican government is "turbulence," but he did not really think so. On the contrary, he believed that a little turbulence now and then would do no harm, since it would serve to remind elected officials that their authority was merely a franchise from the people. What Jefferson really believed is that political power is inherently dangerous and that the chief evil of any form of government is to have too much of it. From this it followed that the chief aim in devising a republican government should be to disperse power among magistrates, separate it in respect to function, and otherwise to limit it by applying the grand negative principle of checks and balances. Jefferson agreed with Thomas Paine that whereas society is the result of our virtues government is the result of our vices and is therefore a necessary evil: necessary, in order to preserve order, protect property, and guarantee contracts; an evil, because inherently prone to magnify its authority and thereby impair the liberties of the individual.

Jefferson's ideal of a democratic society was best realized in a small agricultural community, such as he was familiar with at Monticello, composed of a few men of substance and learning, such as himself and his friend James Madison, and otherwise chiefly of industrious, upstanding yeoman farmers, making altogether a community of good neighbors in which everyone knows who is who and what is being done and who is doing it. The affairs of such a community, being easily within the "reach and competence" of the people, could be easily managed by them with the minimum of officials, exercising the minimum of authority, and attended with the minimum of palaver and ceremonial display. Unfortunately, this ideal community could not live to itself, and in managing the affairs of the larger area it was necessary for the people to act through representatives. This departure from the ideal was the beginning of danger, but there was no help for it except to prepare in good time by electing the representatives for very short terms and limiting their power to very specific matters.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 24.

The general principle would then be that the wider the area the less safe it would be to intrust representatives with power; and from this principle it followed that representatives from the counties to the state capital of Virginia could be safely intrusted with more power than could be safely intrusted to representatives from Virginia to Philadelphia. That the states must remain united Jefferson fully realized; but he was convinced that they should retain their sovereign powers, and at first the Articles of Confederation seemed to him very nearly the ideal form for such a union. When experience proved that a "more perfect union" was necessary, he approved of the Constitution of 1787 but insisted, as a safeguard against too much power in the hands of a government far removed from the people, that a bill of rights should be incorporated in the Constitution and that the powers therein granted to the Federal government should be strictly and narrowly interpreted.<sup>8</sup> As it happened, Jefferson's grasp of international political realities was destined to override this principle. He pushed through the purchase of Louisiana, in spite of the fact that in doing so he was exercising an authority which he believed he did not possess.<sup>9</sup> That perverse circumstances should have made Thomas Jefferson the man to usurp power from the people is ironical enough, and it troubled his political conscience not a little; but he could console himself with the reflection that he had tried, although in vain, to get an amendment to the Constitution to authorize the act and that in any case his conscience was clear, since he had acted solely for the public good.

Closely associated with Jefferson's fear of the open usurpation of political power was his fear of the secret and more insidious influences by which men become debased and corrupted. Republican government, he was well aware, could not be very successful unless the majority of the citizens were independent, honest, and reasonably intelligent. Intelligence could be sufficiently trained and directed by education—schools for the people and colleges for the leaders. But honesty and independence depended less upon precept than upon the conditions in which men lived. The best conditions were those of country life. "Cultivators of the earth," Jefferson said, "are the most virtuous citizens." Vice, he thought, flourished chiefly in cities and in industrial communities which produce cities. In cities, where most people are unacquainted with each other, unscrupulous men could push their selfish interests under cover of the general indifference; and industrial communities, making so

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 41-42, 45, 81.

<sup>9</sup> Jefferson's views are given in a letter to Robert R. Livingston, April 18, 1802 (*ibid.*, VIII, 143), in which he makes the much quoted statement about "marrying ourselves to the British fleet and nation." The reasons given by Jefferson for uniting with the British fleet and nation are as valid today as they were in 1802.

much use of impalpable and evanescent forms of wealth, opened the door to speculation for unearned profit, encouraged greed, and rewarded useless luxury: provided all the conditions, in short, for the rise of a corrupt and politically influential "money power." Jefferson regarded commerce and industry as necessary adjuncts to agriculture, but he had the farmer's settled antipathy to banks. "The exercise, by our own citizens, of so much commerce as may suffice to exchange our superfluities for our wants," he cautiously admitted, "may be advantageous to the whole"; but he was convinced that it would be fatal for us "to become a mere city of London, to carry on the commerce of half the world at the expense of waging eternal war with the other half." Capital invested in agriculture or useful industry was productively employed; but "all the capital employed in paper speculation is barren and useless, producing, like that on a gaming table, no accession to itself." And as for banks, they "are a blot left in all our constitutions, which, if not removed, will end in their destruction."<sup>10</sup> Jefferson was never weary of pointing to England as the most striking example of a country losing its freedom by the unchecked multiplication of such evils, and he was convinced that the United States would suffer the same loss if it did not profit in time by that example.

Such in brief was the political philosophy of Thomas Jefferson—his conception of human rights and of the form of government best suited to secure these rights. What then is still living in this political philosophy? To what extent is his conception of rights still valid for us? To what extent is the form of government recommended by him well adapted for securing the rights, whatever they are, that need to be secured in our time?

Any comprehensive study of Jefferson and his writings is apt, sooner or later, to leave one with the impression that he was more at home in the world of ideas than in the world of men and affairs. He had little of Franklin's zest for life in the rough, little of his genial, tolerant acceptance of men as they are, and none of his talent for being comfortable in crowds, or of hobnobbing on equal terms with persons of every station, from kings to scullions in the kitchen. Jefferson was a democrat by intellectual conviction but by training and temperament a Virginia aristocrat—a man of cultivated tastes and preferences, with an aversion from all that is crude and boisterous, vulgar and passionate, in human intercourse. It may be said that he felt with his mind, as some people think with the heart. John Adams said that Jefferson's writings were characterized by "a peculiar felicity of expression."<sup>11</sup> They were indeed—perhaps a little too much so. In reading Jefferson's writings one

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 279; X, 28, 34.      <sup>11</sup> *Works of John Adams*, II, 514.



feels that it would be a relief to come now and then on a hard, uncompromising, passionate sentence, such as: "As for me, give me liberty or give me death!" What we expect to find is rather: "Manly sentiment bids us die freemen rather than live as slaves." Jefferson's ideas were also characterized by a peculiar felicity, and also perhaps a little too much so. One feels that they come a little too easily to birth and rest a little precariously on the ideal aspirations of good men and not sufficiently on the harsh, brute facts of the world as it is. Jefferson was no visionary, and on occasions, such as the purchase of Louisiana, he exhibited a remarkable grasp of political realities. But it was entirely characteristic of him that, in respect to the Embargo, he should have taken the position that since our rights were in principle equally violated by England and France, they should be impartially defended against both countries, although England alone was in fact able to do us any material injury; equally characteristic that the high aim of his policy was to defend our rights by humane and peaceful methods, and the signal effect of it to inflict more material injury on the United States than on either of the countries by which its rights had been violated. One often feels that if there had been a little more humane sentiment and a good deal more passion in Jefferson's make-up, he would have been an out and out non-resistance pacifist. As it is, he presents us with the anomaly of a revolutionist who hated violence and a President of the United States who was disconcerted by the possession of political power.

If Jefferson was more at home in the world of ideas than in the world of men and affairs, it follows that, as a political philosopher, he was a better judge of ends than of means. In all that relates to the fundamental values of life, for the individual and for society, in all that relates to the ideal aims which the democratic form of government aims to realize, his understanding was profound. But in respect to the means, the particular institutions by which these values and ideal aims may be realized, he was often at fault, if not for his own time at least for ours; and when he was at fault he was so partly because he conceived of society as more static than it really is and partly because he conceived of American society as something that might remain predominantly agricultural and with relatively simple institutional devices be kept isolated in a relatively arcadian simplicity. But Jefferson's chief limitation as a political philosopher (and in fairness to him it should be remembered that it was the limitation of most political philosophers of his time) was that he was unduly influenced by the idea that the only thing to do with political power, since it is inherently dangerous, is to abate it. He failed to appreciate sufficiently the hard fact that political power always

exists in the world and will be used by those who possess it; and as a consequence of this failure he was too much concerned with negative devices designed to obstruct the use of political power for bad ends and not sufficiently concerned with positive devices designed to make use of it for good ends.

This gives us then our general answer. In respect to fundamentals—the nature of human rights and the form of government best suited to secure them—Jefferson's philosophy is still valid for us; in respect to particular political forms and policies, much of it is now outmoded. In elaborating this general answer I can touch only on the main points.

None of Jefferson's ideas is so irrelevant to our needs as that concerning cities and industrial communities, not because there is not much truth in what he has to say about them but because his hope that the United States might remain a predominantly agricultural society was entirely misplaced. During Jefferson's time there was occurring a revolution of which he was unaware, or the significance of which he at all events entirely failed to grasp. I refer, of course, to the Industrial, or more properly the Technological, Revolution, brought about by the discovery of steam power, electricity, and radiation. It was one of the two or three major revolutions in the history of civilization, since by giving men an unprecedented control over material things it transformed, within a brief span of years, the relatively simple agricultural societies of the eighteenth century into societies far more complex and integrated and at the same time far more mobile and swiftly changing than any ever known before—formidable, blank-faced Leviathans that Thomas Jefferson would have regarded as unreal, fantastic, and altogether unsuited to liberty and equality as he understood those terms. That Jefferson did not foresee this momentous revolution is no discredit to him: no one in his time foresaw it more than dimly. But the point is that these are the societies in which we live and in connection with which we have to reconsider the nature of human rights and the institutions best suited to secure them; and it is now clear that Jefferson's favorite doctrine of *laissez faire* in respect to economic enterprise, and therefore in respect to political policy also, can no longer serve as a guiding principle for securing the rights of men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

The doctrine of *laissez faire*, as it was understood by Jefferson and the social philosophers of the early nineteenth century, rested upon the assumption that if each individual within the nations, and each nation among the nations, was left as free as possible to pursue its own interest, something not themselves, God or Nature, would do whatever else was necessary for

righteousness; or, better still, as Professor Carr puts it in his recent book, the assumption that from the unrestrained pursuit of individual self-interest a "harmony of interests" would more or less automatically emerge.<sup>12</sup> In the political realm this meant that the function of government should be confined in principle to the protection of life and property, the guaranteeing of contracts, the preservation of civil order, and the defense of the country against aggression. In the economic realm it meant that the free play of individual initiative, stimulated by the acquisitive instinct, would result in the maximum production of wealth, and that the competitive instinct, functioning through the price system, would result in as equitable a distribution of wealth as the qualities and defects of men permitted. In the international world it meant that the promotion of its own interest and power by each sovereign state would tend to create a balance of power and of interests which would serve, better than any other system, to promote commercial exchanges and cultural relations and to preserve the peace.

It is now sufficiently clear that the doctrine of *laissez faire*—of letting things go—however well adapted it may have been to the world in which Jefferson lived, is not well adapted to the world in which we live. In a world so highly integrated economically, a world in which the tempo of social change is so accelerated and the technological power at the disposal of corporations and governments is so enormous and can be so easily used for anti-social ends—in such a world the unrestrained pursuit of individual and national self-interest results neither in the maximum production or the equitable distribution of wealth, nor in the promotion of international comity and peace, but in social class conflicts and in total and global wars so ruthless as to threaten the destruction of all interests, individual and national, and even the foundations of civilized living. In such a world the inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness can be secured, not by letting things go and trusting to God or Nature to see that they go right but in deciding beforehand where they ought to go and doing what is desirable and possible to make them go there. The harmony of interests, if there is to be any, must be deliberately and socially designed and deliberately and co-operatively worked for. To bring this harmony of interests to pass is now the proper function of government; and it will assuredly not be brought to pass by any government that proceeds on the assumption that the best government is the one that governs least.

The history of the United States during a hundred years past confirms this conclusion and thereby refutes Jefferson's idea that the several states

<sup>12</sup> Edward H. Carr, *The Conditions of Peace* (Toronto, 1942), p. 105.

should retain their sovereign powers, and that the powers of the Federal government should be strictly and narrowly interpreted. Decade by decade the states have lost their sovereign powers, and the Federal government, by virtue of a liberal interpretation of the Constitution and of amendments to it, has assumed the authority to pass legislation limiting the activities of some individuals in order to secure the rights of others. This expansion of power and enlargement of function has been brought about, in spite of the inertia of traditional ideas and the pressure of interested groups, by the insistent need of regulating the activities of great corporations which, although in theory private enterprises, are in fact public utilities, and thereby possess irresponsible power which they are sometimes unwilling but more often unable to use for the public good. It is in respect to this situation that the engaging word "liberty" emerges in a guise unknown to Jefferson and his contemporaries. In his time the most obvious oppressions, for the majority of men, were the result of arbitrary governmental restrictions on the activities of individuals, so that liberty could be most easily conceived in terms of the emancipation of the individual from governmental constraint. But in our time the development of free economic enterprise has created a situation in which the most obvious oppressions, for the majority of men, arise not from an excess of governmental regulation but from the lack of it, so that in our time liberty can be understood only in terms of more and more intelligently designed supervision of free economic enterprise. Jefferson and his contemporaries, as James Bryce has well said, "mistook the pernicious channels in which selfish propensities had been flowing for those propensities themselves, which were sure to find new channels when the old had been destroyed."<sup>13</sup> The selfish propensities with which we have to deal are the same as those with which Jefferson and his contemporaries had to deal, but since the channels—the particular institutions and customs—through which they flow are different, the remedies have to be different also.

In this respect—in respect to the proper function of government—the political philosophy of Jefferson is now outmoded. But this is after all the more superficial aspect of Jefferson's philosophy, and if we turn to its more fundamental aspects—to the form of government as distinct from its function, and to the essential rights to be secured as distinct from the particular institutional forms for securing them—we find that Jefferson's political philosophy is as valid for our time as it was for his.

Jefferson was profoundly convinced that the best form of government was the republican—that is, government by elected representatives—because

<sup>13</sup> *Modern Democracies* (New York, 1921), I, 49.

it was the only form, as he said, that "is not eternally at open or secret war with the rights of mankind." The form of government which Jefferson did so much to establish still exists, essentially unchanged; and today we accept it with even less qualification and divided loyalty than obtained in Jefferson's time. We accept it for many reasons, no doubt—because it has on the whole worked so well, because we have become habituated to it, and because there is in our political tradition no model for any other form. But we also accept it for the same reason that Jefferson accepted it—because we are profoundly convinced that it is the one form of government that is not at war with the rights of mankind, or at all events with those familiar rights and privileges which we regard as in some sense natural, because from long settled habit they seem to us so imprescriptibly American.

Recent events have greatly strengthened this conviction. Twenty years ago we were in a mood to ask whether the representative system of government might not be, if not at open, at least too often at secret, war with the rights of mankind. That was the result of comparing the democratic practice with the democratic ideal, with the inevitable if perhaps salutary effect of magnifying the defects and minimizing the virtues of democratic government as a going concern. But for ten years past now we have been permitted, have indeed been compelled, to reappraise democratic government in the light, not of the ideal, but of the practical alternative as presented for our admiration in Germany and elsewhere. And the result of this reappraisal has been to convince us that the defects of our system of government are, in comparison, trivial, while its virtues are substantial. Indeed the incredible cynicism of Adolf Hitler's way of regarding man and the life of man, made real by the servile and remorseless activities of his bleak-faced, humorless Nazi supporters, has forced men everywhere to re-examine the validity of half-forgotten ideas and to entertain once more half-discarded convictions as to the substance of things not seen. One of these convictions is that "liberty, equality, fraternity," and the "inalienable rights" of man are phrases, glittering or not, that denote realities—the fundamental realities that men will always fight and die for rather than surrender.

In defense of these rights and of our democratic form of government, we are now fighting a desperate war; and in justification of our action we are advancing the same reasons that Jefferson proclaimed—that the democratic form of government is the one best adapted to secure the inalienable rights of man. We may be less sure than Jefferson was that a beneficent intelligence created the world for man's special convenience. We may think that the laws of nature, and especially the laws of human nature, are less

easily discovered than he supposed. We may have found it more difficult to define the natural rights of man and to secure them by simple institutional forms than he anticipated. Above all, we may have learned that human reason is not quite so infallible an instrument for arriving at the truth as he supposed it to be and that men are less amenable to rational persuasion. Nevertheless, in essentials Jefferson's political philosophy is our political philosophy; in essentials democracy means for us what it meant for him.

Democracy is for us, as it was for him, primarily a set of values, a way of regarding man and the life of man. It is for us, as it was for him, also a set of concrete institutions through which these values may be realized. We now realize, as he did, but rather better than he did, that the institutional forms are bound to change: they have changed since Jefferson's time, they are changing now, and they will change still further in time to come. But we may believe, as Jefferson did, that the values themselves are enduring; one reason for believing so being the fact that the values we cherish are the same as those which Jefferson proclaimed and the same as those which for more than two thousand years the saints and sages of the world have regarded as the ideal aim and ultimate test of civilized living. If we were to write a Declaration of the modern democratic faith, it might run somewhat as follows:

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that the individual man has dignity and worth in his own right; that it is better to be governed by persuasion than by force; that fraternal good will is of greater worth than a selfish and contentious spirit; that in the long run all values, both for the individual and for society, are inseparable from the love of truth and the disinterested search for it; that the truth can be discovered only insofar as the mind of man is free; that knowledge and the power it gives should be used for promoting the welfare and happiness of all men rather than for the selfish interests of those individuals and classes whom intelligence and fortune have endowed with a temporary advantage; and that no form of government yet invented is so well adapted to realize these high ends as one that is designed to be a government of the people, by the people, for the people.

To this declaration of the modern democratic faith Thomas Jefferson would subscribe, I feel sure, without qualification. And it is in this sense, the most important sense of all, that his philosophy, and still more the humane and liberal spirit of the man himself, abides with us, as a living force, to clarify our purposes, to strengthen our faith, and to fortify our courage.

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## The Tory Tradition

THE word "Tory" is in bad repute. It is commonly identified with a reactionary reverence for the past and with resistance to any sort of change—"the mule of politics that engenders nothing."<sup>1</sup> There are always representatives of this attitude in any conservative party, but a party dominated by it is moribund. Since a majority of the present Churchill government is Tory, one of two conclusions follows: either that government is moribund, or there is something in Toryism more vital than mulishness.

The first alternative, as recently as three years ago, seemed to be the only one. The Chamberlain regime was Tory in name, though in fact its leaders were impoverished heirs of Gladstonian liberalism. True Toryism revived under the impact of catastrophe. It produced a man to match the hour, and through him is again working itself into the fabric of history. Churchill embodies some of the bad elements in the Tory tradition and many of the good. The latter are particularly worth attention; they account for the vitality of the tradition and determine its value for the present and future world. It is a common assumption that Tories may be good for winning the war but will be useless for winning the peace. This is questionable. It depends on whether the party succeeds in living up to the best in its tradition.

There is an ideal of Toryism. It is seldom achieved and often forgotten, but it may be as important for the modern scene as the ideal of liberalism. The Tory ideal was derived from an aspect of English thought in the eighteenth century, underwent profound modification in the nineteenth, and emerged in the twentieth as a body of principles which are at once old and modern. Some of them are opposed to those of the liberals while others are in accord; Toryism is less the antithesis of liberalism than a way of thought which at one point joins the liberal's, at another diverges sharply from it. The divergences are particularly worth a liberal's attention, because they challenge some of his conceptions of democracy; at a time when the word must be understood if the thing is to be kept, they force him to define his own position more exactly. The character of present Toryism can best be appreciated by a brief survey of its evolution. This will explain its vitality and justify a forecast of what the party must do if it is to fulfill its tradition.

The foundations of modern Toryism were laid in the eighteenth century,

<sup>1</sup> Disraeli's phrase for Toryism in 1844, put in the mouth of one of his characters. *Coningsby; or, The New Generation* (New York, 1904), p. 137.

when it was necessary to find new premises for the conservatism of a new age. This was done in particular by two men, Viscount Bolingbroke and Edmund Burke. Their specific theories of government did not outlive them for long, but many of their underlying principles have been at the root of Tory thought from that day to this. Bolingbroke, for example, is best known for his theory of kingship, which did not outlast the century; yet in part because of it the crown today is a major premise of Toryism. So too with the house of lords, which Bolingbroke considers as the guardian of the people against a usurpation of power by the king or the house of commons; the idea is long since dead, but the principle behind it still survives: that the function of aristocracy is to protect the people from exploitation.

Neither Bolingbroke nor Burke has faith in the wisdom of the people. Popular opinion must not be ignored; but the masses lack an understanding of government, and to give them power would be disastrous. For Bolingbroke "absolute monarchy is tyranny; but absolute democracy is tyranny and anarchy both."<sup>2</sup> This attitude permeates the whole tradition of the party. If democracy means that the masses should dominate government by virtue of their numbers, then no Tory ever was or will be a believer in democracy.

Does this mean that the Tory tradition is anti-democratic? In that case there is no place for the leadership of Churchill, inspired by this tradition, in our life-and-death struggle for the rights of the common man. The question is of fundamental importance for the future of Toryism. But it is largely irrelevant to a past in which democracy had other meanings, and may be postponed for consideration as part of the present crisis of the party. Here it is enough to point out that Bolingbroke meant by "absolute democracy" what we should call dictatorship by the masses, and that he disliked it for substantially the same reasons that liberals now dislike communism. A system which gives absolute power to the majority is as alien to the liberal tradition as to the Tory.

Both Bolingbroke and Burke believe that the people, incapable of rule, have delegated their authority to the government. This is the theory of the social contract, as old as the Justinian Code, except that the personal ruler has become the state. The state for Bolingbroke has full and unquestionable authority, an absolute right of government. In this there is the genesis of that paternalism which is basic to the Tory tradition.

Burke carries the idea further. The state is for him not only the most important aspect of the community but one which embraces all the others. Every

<sup>2</sup> *A Dissertation upon Parties; in Several Letters to Calce d'Anvers, Esq.* (3rd ed., London, 1735), p. 160.

citizen owes duties to it, as the counterpart of the rights which it guarantees him, and exercises a certain amount of direct or indirect political power. The means of securing the performance of duty and the unselfish exercise of power is the church, through which everyone is kept conscious of his moral obligation to "the one great maker, author, and founder of society."<sup>3</sup> The church is thus the moral aspect of the state, without which government is meaningless. In this way Burke amplifies Bolingbroke's concept by investing the absolute right of government with an aura of divinity. In the process he fashions most of the Tory argument for the Anglican establishment.

These two writers evolved the principles of Toryism, but it was left for others to embody them in a modern party. This was the work of many men, of whom one is outstanding. Benjamin Disraeli found a group of men whose spirit was demoralized and whose thought was fossilized, and gradually educated them in the tradition of Bolingbroke and Burke. He thereby created a new party; he brought it to power at last, and by giving it a creed ensured its survival.

He was first elected to parliament in 1837, the year of Victoria's accession. The surface of political life was thoroughly dull; underneath a great deal was going on. The Reform Bill of 1832 had not enfranchised the workingman but had begun a current of agitation. Great Britain, unawares, had entered the period of transformation from oligarchy to democracy. The foundation of the state was changing, as it is changing again today, and out of the change a new liberalism and a new Toryism were about to emerge.

The forgotten man is no discovery of the New Deal. He was becoming important in the Europe of a century ago; his importance was largely unacknowledged but becoming more evident, and Europe in consequence was stirring restlessly. The early Victorian era was a hotbed of implausible theories. They were the order of the day, as they are now; nothing less attracted attention. There was, for example, an acquaintance of Disraeli who was convinced that he was going to be the workingman's emperor in France. This attracted more amusement than attention until he turned out to be right. The workingman during the postwar era had been forgotten in the search for profits; the result was a society, in Disraeli's words, "which has mistaken

<sup>3</sup> "Reflections on the Revolution in France," in *Works of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke* (3rd ed., Boston, 1869), III, 354; see also *ibid.*, pp. 352-69. Bolingbroke's concept of the state is most clearly expressed in *The Idea of a Patriot King: With Respect to the Constitution of Great Britain* [London, ca. 1738]. The intellectual history of Toryism, from Bolingbroke to the end of the nineteenth century, has been summarized briefly but readably by Geoffrey C. Butler in *The Tory Tradition: Bolingbroke—Burke—Disraeli—Salisbury* (London, 1914).

comfort for civilization.”<sup>4</sup> This society was doomed, as that of the 1920’s was doomed, because the forgotten man would not stay forgotten.

The comparison is not forced. In both periods a great war was succeeded by an era of materialism, which in turn bred a romantic reaction; comfort proved inadequate as a social ideal. Disraeli, like Hitler, was able to make political capital out of this reaction by appealing to the craving of ordinary men for extraordinary ideas. He did not find them, as Hitler does, in the mysteries of race and power, although he invoked the goddess Jingo when she suited his turn. He found them instead in Toryism, as contrasted with materialism—the poetry of society, in the phrase of a French critic, as contrasted with its prose.<sup>5</sup> Prose was in the ascendant when Disraeli entered parliament, and it took him thirty-seven years to persuade the voters that they had a taste for poetry.

The difficulties in his way seemed insuperable. At the age of thirty-two he had made a reputation by his novels, his political pamphlets, and his fantastic clothes; these were liabilities on the Tory benches, where a man was judged by his wealth, birth, and connections. He unquestionably did not belong, and he was never gladly accepted by the members of his party. They distrusted him for substantially the same reason that their counterparts of the 1930’s distrusted Churchill: he was “too brilliant to be sound.” But they could not keep him down for long, basically because he had something to say. His political program took shape during his first decade in parliament; there remained the task of forcing it on his party and then on the electorate.

This was a labor of Hercules. The first part would have been impossible, except that the Tories were in opposition; they had been shattered by the struggle over free trade in 1846, and the remnant of the party was disorganized and disheartened. A conservative out of power is often a conservative capable of enlightenment: his hunger for office leads him to accept even the devil of reform. It was on this hunger that Disraeli played. His argument was that if the Tories continued to resist all change, the Whigs would ac-

<sup>4</sup> *Tancred; or, The New Crusade* (London, 1847), II, 119.

<sup>5</sup> Louis F. Cazamian, *Le roman social en Angleterre (1830-1850): Dickens—Disraeli—Mrs. Gaskell—Kingsley* (Paris, 1904), p. 325. Disraeli’s Toryism was greatly influenced by that of Thomas Carlyle, although Carlyle had little use for him. A good illustration of this influence is the two men’s conception of the ruling class. Carlyle asserted in 1840 “that the old aristocracy were the governors of the lower classes, the guides of the lower classes; and even, at bottom, that they existed as an aristocracy because they were found adequate for that” (*Chartism* [London, 1840], p. 58). For Disraeli, eight years later, “the proper leaders of the people are the gentlemen of England. If they are not the leaders of the people, I do not see why there should be gentlemen” (Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd series, XCIX [1848], 964). The intellectual kinship between Burke, Carlyle, and Disraeli is lucidly expounded by Otto Thoma, *Das Englische Verfassungs- und Gesellschaftsideal in den politischen Romanen Benjamin Disraelis* (Heidelberg, 1913).

quire "a monopoly of power, under the specious title of a monopoly of reform."<sup>6</sup> This is at bottom the argument which Willkie has used on the old-guard Republicans, to persuade them that the party must advance a positive program or concede to the New Deal a monopoly of power. Disraeli was not assisted by a Dunkirk or a Pearl Harbor, and worked for a quarter of a century before his point sank in.

Once he had convinced the Tories, it remained to convince the electorate. His technique was peculiar to himself, and for years it produced more astonishment than votes. His program lacked clarity; he juggled with ideas as he juggled with words, at times apparently for the mere love of juggling. But even the fantastic elements of his thought had their uses, since he had discovered that the fantastic might be popular; John Bull, like Ferdinand, had a taste for flowers. Underlying these fantasies were certain concepts of government for which he eventually won the support of the voters.

British politics in the nineteenth century were conditioned by two phenomena—the growth of imperialism and the growth of democracy. The Whigs tended to dissociate themselves from imperialism: they expected to see the dominions break away from the mother country and opposed the acquisition of new territory on the dual grounds of injustice and expense. They were the intellectual ancestors of one brand of modern isolationist, who wishes to be quit of foreign and imperial commitments in order to concentrate on domestic reform. Such an attitude was anathema to Disraeli. It was the logic of materialism, for which as a whole-souled romantic he had no use. It violated his ideal of a paternalistic government, ruling the far corners of the globe for the good of the natives and the glory of the British crown, and envisaged instead the dissolution of empire and a foreign policy of sweetness and light. The Whigs appealed to the voters in the name of reason; Disraeli, through imperialism, appealed to them in the name of imagination. He succeeded, at long last, and his success grafted imperialism onto the Tory tradition.

A corollary of imperialism was also established by the time of his death. If an empire is to be maintained, government must keep its fingers continuously on the pulse of world affairs; a strong foreign policy is the price of imperial greatness. As prime minister from 1874 to 1880 Disraeli initiated a policy which, whatever else may be said of it, did not lack vigor or imagination. He blustered and mixed his blustering with statecraft; the result was

<sup>6</sup> "Vindication of the English Constitution in a Letter to a Noble and Learned Lord," in *Whigs and Whiggism: Political Writings by Benjamin Disraeli*, ed. William Hutcheon (London, 1913), p. 226.

the Congress of Berlin, the last great diplomatic triumph which Great Britain has won to date. His technique was continued by Joseph Chamberlain and became an accepted party principle. A Tory isolationist is a contradiction in terms.

The growth of democracy was even more important than that of empire in remaking the Tory party. If the Tories under Disraeli had opposed an extension of the franchise, as they had under Wellington, the result might have been their extinction. Instead they took the initiative. When the question of reform arose in 1866, they were momentarily in power. But they had behind them the memory of twenty years in which, with two brief exceptions, they had been continuously in opposition; hence they were not wedded to a system which gave power to their opponents. They were opposed to the *status quo*, and this provided the opportunity which Disraeli took. Under his auspices, though with many Whig amendments and in the teeth of many Tories, Great Britain in 1867 acquired the second Reform Bill. Carlyle called it "shooting Niagara." In fact, it was the first great step toward democratic government, and the lead had been taken by the Tories.

By the time Disraeli died in 1881 he had been the leading spirit in his party for thirty-five years and had had six years as prime minister in which to put his program into action. His death left the furtherance of his policies to other hands, some of them as capable as his. Salisbury, Joseph Chamberlain, Randolph Churchill, Balfour, Winston Churchill—modern Toryism has not lacked able leaders. But the tradition of the party has not evolved, except in some particulars, beyond the point where Disraeli left it, and its present status can best be seen by examining the bases which he laid.

Disraeli's confidence in the wisdom of the masses was no greater than Bolingbroke's or Burke's. He had vast sympathy for them but no faith in their power of government. How can this be reconciled with his drastic extension of the franchise? The answer is that he never considered the vote a major determinant of power and never shared the conviction, so widespread among both radicals and conservatives, that universal suffrage was the equivalent of Bolingbroke's "absolute democracy." For this very reason Disraeli was willing to enlarge the electorate. From the beginning of his career he was convinced that the franchise must be extended and that it should be done by the Tories.

He believed that the old principle of British government, destroyed by the first Reform Bill, had been that of representation without election. The people, in other words, had been represented by the constitutional trinity of commons, lords, and church—the peasantry by the great landowning peers in the house



of lords, the legal fraternity by the judiciary lords, the mercantile interests by members of the house of commons, and so on. Disraeli realized that this principle, working through an aristocratic oligarchy, had ended in 1832. Instead there was an impotent house of lords, and a house of commons which was elective but not representative of the nation. Representation without election had been replaced by election without representation, which to him was no principle at all.

Disraeli attributed popular grievances to this unsound system. The old constitution had given political rights to a small aristocratic minority, on condition that they would guard what he called the civil rights of the nation; by this he meant the rights of all to a modicum of social and economic security. The constitution of 1832 gave political rights to a larger minority, the middle class, but without any condition. Hence that class, instead of participating in government, left it to a hired bureaucracy. Popular discontent was directed against this callous bureaucracy and its employers, rather than against the idea of a governing class *per se*.<sup>7</sup>

The remedy was to extend the franchise until the house of commons became genuinely representative. Because Disraeli believed that the masses would never exercise a power commensurate with their numbers, he also believed that it would be comparatively safe to give them the vote. They would need a leadership, furthermore, which they could not provide for themselves. They would look for it not to the middle class, their natural enemies, but to the gentry and aristocracy, their natural friends. "The wider the popular suffrage, the more powerful would be the natural aristocracy."<sup>8</sup> The dominance of the middle class would be ended by an alliance of the top and the bottom.

This does not mean rule by the top. Such rule is aristocratic government, which Disraeli had rejected. Rule by the bottom is mass dictatorship; rule by the middle is Whig oligarchy. Then what is left? The answer, which he finally expounded in 1867, is that no one class should rule. Every class should have a voice in government, but neither its training nor its wealth nor its numbers justifies a dominant influence. Disraeli did not explain how the equipoise could be maintained (some questions are too thorny for even the boldest), but he stressed the importance of maintaining it. The following sentences, from the debate on the second Reform Bill, are crucial in the development of Toryism. "It is contrary to the constitution of this realm to give to any one class or interest a predominating power over the rest of the

<sup>7</sup> See in particular Disraeli's analysis of chartism. Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd series, XLIX (1839), 246-52.

<sup>8</sup> "The Spirit of Whiggism," in *Whigs and Whiggism*, p. 346.

community.”<sup>9</sup> “What we desire to do is . . . to prevent a preponderance of any class, and to give a representation to the nation.”<sup>10</sup>

Against this background of balanced representation the role of the Tory party is not to rule the masses but to provide leadership for them—a leadership which is both paternalistic and responsible and which may at any time be called to account at the polls. Its principal objective must be to secure to the people their civil rights. Disraeli was convinced that these were far more important to them than any political rights, an idea which is more familiar to us than it was to his contemporaries.

This idea is the key to his program of social legislation. He never believed that the masses were able to improve themselves unaided or that poverty was the result of individual incompetence; he therefore felt that a measure of security must be given to the people by a paternalistic government. Under the aegis of such a government concessions might wisely be made to certain groups of the people, such as trade unions, because they would serve as a counterweight to the industrial middle class and thus maintain the balance of classes.

The essential paternalism of this program works through a governing class, which provides a leadership for which it is responsible to the governed. If this responsibility is to be real, all citizens must, in one way or another, participate in the common endeavor. Disraeli made such participation a matter of principle, which when shorn of its romantic trappings becomes the principle of Burke, that political rights have duties for their counterpart. No one, in short, can be protected by the state without discharging obligations to it. This emphasis on duty is a permanent part of the Tory tradition.

The awareness of duty, for Disraeli as for Burke, is closely associated with the church. As the inspirational element in the state, the church is connected of necessity with government. The government protects it and controls its property; it in turn makes people and government conscious of their duty to

<sup>9</sup> From the third of the thirteen resolutions introduced in the house of commons by Disraeli as a prelude to the second Reform Bill (Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd series, CLXXXV [1867], table of contents under February 11). This is a far cry from “The Spirit of Whiggism,” in which Disraeli declares that “if the spirit of your laws preserves masses of property in a particular class, the government of the country will follow the disposition of the property” (*Whigs and Whiggism*, pp. 345-46). The evolution of his ideas on the franchise is difficult to trace. He uses a key word like “democracy” in different senses at different times, and his handling of first principles is often more sonorous than enlightening. By the time of the second Reform Bill, however, events had forced him to state his views with something approaching clarity. They must be pieced together from parts of various speeches, of which the most significant may be found in Joseph Irving, *The Annals of Our Time: A Diurnal of Events . . .* [1837-1871] (London, 1871), pp. 703-04, 786; Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd series, CLIII (1859), 1230-31, 1244-47; CLVII (1860), 840-41, 843-45, 846-47; CLXXXVIII (1865), 1702-03; CLXXXV (1867), 217-20; CLXXXVI (1867), 6-7.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25.

the state. Unless both have this consciousness, administration is a mere system of police. "If government is not divine it is nothing."<sup>11</sup> This conception of a state church is alien to American thought, but it is still the political *raison d'être* of the church of England.

So much for Disraeli's theories. They were in essence Tory democracy, although the phrase was popularized after his death. This concept of democracy is in part a critique of other concepts, in part a body of principles, and in part an attitude of mind. It is also the culmination of the Tory tradition, and by it the tradition must be judged.

On the economic side Tory democracy is the antithesis of laissez-faire liberalism, which in modern terms is the hands-off-business school of thought. This school subordinates the power of government, however constituted, to the power of wealth—wealth in the hands of Disraeli's Whig oligarchs or of Roosevelt's economic royalists. Such liberalism was as repugnant to one man as it is to the other. The Tory democrat is anxious to increase the security of the laboring classes. He is willing to increase their economic and political power, but on three conditions: that they are competently led, that their power is not used purely for their own interests, and that it is not great enough to upset the balance of classes. If these three conditions are met, there is no inconsistency in a Tory government's encouraging trade unions or even admitting union leaders to office in a coalition. The present alliance of Toryism and labor, in short, does not necessarily violate Tory principles.

On the social side Tory democracy is a denial of what Disraeli called "that pernicious doctrine of modern times, the natural equality of man."<sup>12</sup> The Tory believes, as firmly as the Nazi, that there is a natural elite. It is not an elite merely of birth and position, which it is often considered to be; it is an aristocracy of those most competent to lead, who should in theory be drawn from all classes. If in fact they are not, that is a fault to the Tory mind of practice rather than of principle. However this class is constituted, its function is to govern paternalistically, subject to control at the polls.

On the political side Tory democracy is opposed to the simple notion that all questions can be settled by counting noses. This notion ignores the rights of the minority and leads to government by and for the lower classes, because they are the most numerous; the result may be Marxism but not democracy. The Tory would avoid this danger in universal suffrage partly by leadership and partly by the principle of indirect representation. The idea is foreign to

<sup>11</sup> Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd series, CXCI (1868), 918.

<sup>12</sup> Lord George Bentinck: *A Political Biography* (London, 1852), p. 496.

him that men can be represented only through periodic elections; hence he emphasizes the house of lords, the church, the monarchy, all of them unelected representatives of some group or aspect of the nation. For the same reason he distrusts the house of commons. He does not associate liberty with the legislature and tyranny with the executive, and is far more ready than the liberal to countenance strong and independent executive action.

Modern Toryism is thus founded on certain principles. The foremost is paternalism: the paternalism of an elite, as opposed to the materialism of plutocrats and bureaucrats. Another is the concept of the state, consecrated by the church and buttressed by the duties owed to it by all citizens. A third is emphasis on the executive, on unelected representatives, and on the balance of legislative power between all groups and classes. Pervading all these is an attitude of mind which combines a love for the best of the past with a willingness to augment it cautiously with the best of the present.

It remains to consider whether these principles are still applicable. The Tory attitude will endure until human nature changes. But unless Tory principles can be adapted to the needs of the future, the party will not provide the leadership which will be the price of political survival in the postwar world.

The tradition of paternalism is well suited to the trend of modern history toward state interference in the interest of the masses. In Disraeli's day this trend appeared in the domestic policy of his fellow conservative, Bismarck.<sup>13</sup> Since then it has become increasingly prevalent in governments of various complexions, democracies as well as dictatorships; much of the New Deal, for example, accords with this aspect of Toryism. The reason is obvious. A man's vote is no more a guarantee of his civil rights than Disraeli thought it was; those rights can be secured against the power of wealth only by state interference, which is almost of necessity paternalistic. Social security is the modern equivalent of civil rights, and there is no reason in the background of the party why a Beveridge Report should not become the program of postwar Toryism. Whether it will is quite another matter.

Bureaucracy, the servant of the paternalistic state, is always in danger of becoming its master. The Tory would mitigate this danger by emphasizing the natural aristocracy and its duty of participating in government. This is the persistent notion of a governing class, which has hitherto been identified with the upper class; hence the importance in government of the old school tie. If this identification continues, it seems likely that the idea of a govern-

<sup>13</sup> "The great European figures of the later nineteenth century were Disraeli and Bismarck, who strove to weld together the 'two nations' [of rich and poor] into one through the agencies of the social service state, popular education and imperialism, refuted the taunt that 'the worker has no country,' and paved the way for 'national labor,' 'national socialism,' and even 'national communism.'" Edward H. Carr, *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939* (London, 1941), p. 290.

ing class will wane with the waning power of the present aristocracy. But if the two can be divorced, the idea may still have a future. This divorce could be accomplished only by the drastic reform (recently hinted at by no less a Tory than Churchill) of throwing open the schools to the people.<sup>14</sup> The result would be to give scope to talent from every class in the careers hitherto largely reserved for privilege: the army, navy, church, and civil service. The basis of the elite would thereby be widened but the principle maintained; a Bevin or a Morrison would belong as well as a Halifax. In this sense, and in this sense only, it is true of the enlightened Tory of today that he expects the Battle of Armageddon to be won on the playing fields of Eton.

The Tory concept of the state has both its danger and its virtue. The danger is self-evident. If government is divine, as Disraeli would have it, the duties of the citizen to the state tend to become unlimited; the notion of a social contract evaporates in the presence of divinity. This paves the way for authoritarian government and even dictatorship. There may be times when a crisis demands virtual dictatorship, and this is perhaps why Toryism so often flourishes in the darkest hour. Dictatorship, however, is at best a necessary evil, and the possibility of it is implicit in the Tory attitude toward the state.

The virtue of this attitude is the converse of its danger. While there is risk in overemphasizing the citizen's duties, it is far more common in democracies to overemphasize his rights. This springs from the democratic stress on liberty: the liberty guaranteed by the state becomes identified with liberty from the claims of the state, and it is forgotten that those claims are the price of liberty. The result is an apathy which makes it impossible for government to evoke the true power of a nation. This apathy has sapped American strength in the last few years and still impedes the mobilization of our full resources. The same was true in Great Britain, until the sense of duty was fanned by disaster into what Churchill has called "a more intense and universal flame than was ever seen before in any modern community."<sup>15</sup> To keep that flame burning in the postwar world will be the supreme challenge to whatever party is in power.

Another aspect of the Tory attitude toward the state is the stress on imperialism. This gift of Disraeli is becoming a white elephant to his party and may well prove its ruin. The control of the empire from London has been

<sup>14</sup> See, for example, his speech to the schoolboys of Harrow, December 18, 1940: "When this war is won . . . it must be one of our aims to establish a state of society where the advantages and privileges which hitherto have been enjoyed by the few shall be far more widely shared by the many, and by the youth of the nation as a whole." W. S. Churchill, *The Unrelenting Struggle* (New York, 1942), pp. 20-21.

<sup>15</sup> From the broadcast address of February 9, 1941; *Blood, Sweat, and Tears* (New York, 1941), p. 453.

steadily decreasing since the early years of this century; the Tories have opposed the process with persistence and with scant success—as witness Eire and even India. Their imperialism has become mere resistance to change, and this attitude toward the empire is largely personified in Churchill. There is every reason to expect that the war will cause profound readjustments of imperial relations, along the autonomous lines already established. In that case the Tories must either shake free from their intransigence and adapt themselves to the new era, or again face eclipse.

The tradition of a strong foreign policy may be more firmly rooted than the imperialism from which it sprang. If so, it will be in great part because of the blunders of the National Government. The relative imperviousness to foreign affairs among its Tory members, especially between 1935 and 1938, is the clearest index of how far they have strayed from the Disraelian into the Gladstonian tradition. The old Tory principle flickered for a moment in Baldwin when he said that England's frontier was on the Rhine; then Baldwin forgot, and Neville Chamberlain reverted to the shortsightedness of Birmingham. Meanwhile the Tory mantle fell on Churchill, the Cassandra of government; the gist of his prophecies was the same as that terrible warning of Burke, on the eve of another imperial catastrophe: "a great empire and little minds go ill together."<sup>16</sup> Now that those prophecies have been fulfilled, it seems incredible that British policy should revert to the isolationism of the 1930's.

A strong foreign policy implies a strong executive. Here again the lessons of the past suggest that the Tory position is in tune with modern developments. In moments of emergency the democratic executive is likely to supersede the legislature. Disraeli practiced what he preached in the Anglo-Russian crisis of 1878 and treated the house of commons with a high hand. The experiment has been repeated since, and not always by Tories—by Sir Edward Grey, for example, in the agreement with France in 1912; by Roosevelt in the Destroyer Deal and the signing of the Atlantic Charter. Without assuming that this is dictatorship, it is a method which has its drawbacks. Churchill personifies in this way, as in so many others, the good and bad in Toryism. At a time when political opposition is in abeyance, he has improved upon Disraeli's model to the point of overshadowing all the other men and agencies of government. In consequence he is criticized for ignoring advice and for cutting himself off from parliament and people. Whether or not this criticism is grounded, it reveals a danger implicit in the Tory's emphasis on the executive.

<sup>16</sup> "Speech on Conciliation with America," in *Works*, II, 181.



His emphasis on unelected representatives leads him to support both the house of lords and the monarchy. He envisages the upper house as a brake on a reckless cabinet and house of commons, a hereditary opposition to radicalism. There is a rough but real analogy between this and the American Tory's conception of the Supreme Court; an attack on the one arouses much the same hostility in Great Britain that an attack on the other does with us. Whether the Tories will continue to prevent reform of the house of lords is a matter of speculation. Any reform short of abolition, however, is likely to retain their principle of indirect representation.

The future of the monarchy is less speculative. The significance of the crown in imperial government has increased enormously in the last generation, because it is now the one symbol of unity and legal tie in the Commonwealth of Nations. Its significance in domestic affairs is a variable factor, depending on the character of the sovereign. A king can still exert real influence, as witness the role of Edward VII in the formation of the Entente Cordiale, or that of George V at the beginning of the National Government. The throne was badly shaken by Edward VIII, and Churchill's Toryism almost led him to shake it further by forming a party of King's Friends. Wiser counsels prevailed, and it is too soon to tell what damage was done to kingship by the change in kings. But it seems probable that the emotional strains of war will enhance the prestige of George VI, as they did that of his father, and that this aspect of the Tory tradition will survive. The king, in time of crisis, is in a very real sense the representative of his people.

This Tory conception of unelected representatives raises again the question of whether Toryism is anti-democratic. The idea of indirect representation is more familiar in this country than it might seem: we are accustomed to having districts, groups, or interests represented in local and state defense committees, in the War Labor Board, and even to some extent in the Supreme Court; much of our representative government, in fact, is in the hands of men who are our representatives only in the broadest sense. There is, however, the fundamental difference that these men are subject to recall by our elected representatives. Tory theory is at variance in this with conventional theories of democracy, which differ in many respects but agree that a democracy is a state in which the people have delegated their power only to elected representatives. The Tory emphasis on unelected representatives is undemocratic at best and anti-democratic at worst, because they can be used to impede the popular will.

So much for theory. The variance in practice is far less than this indicates. The popular will may be blocked in this country by a minority in the Senate

or by five justices in the Supreme Court, and no theory of recall is operative; our Tories do not exploit these impediments nor enshrine them in the tradition of a party, but on occasion they use them far more effectively than the house of lords or the monarchy can now be used. In practice the power of the majority is restrained in both countries by various expedients, and this restraint is commonly accepted as a part of the democratic process.

The liberal and the Tory do not disagree on the necessity of restraint but only on the means. The Tory would curb demos by an elaboration of checks and balances, and direct it from above by leadership; although the liberal would give it freer rein, he also would keep it within bounds by stressing minority rights. The Tory viewpoint has its dangers. But if democracy means majority dictatorship, both liberal and Tory are anti-democratic; the difference is one of degree and method, and of frankness.

These are the Tory principles. Tory practice is determined in the last analysis by an attitude of mind which is the antithesis not of liberalism but of radicalism. It has its classic expression in Burke, who insists that the reformer must understand the reason behind an abuse before trying to remedy it. The underlying principle may be sound, and the abuse merely a perversion; hence the necessity of caution and wisdom in reform. "A spirit of reformation is never more consistent with itself than when it refuses to be rendered the means of destruction."<sup>17</sup> There is an echo in this of Francis Bacon. "It is . . . well to beware that it be the reformation that draweth on the change, and not the desire of change that pretendeth the reformation."<sup>18</sup> Such precepts are anathema to the radical, but they are in the marrow of the Tory bone.

The radical would destroy where the Tory would transform. Destruction is revolution, which sweeps away the present mixture of good and bad on the chance that the future will be better. Transformation is slower; it retains the good in the mixture and changes the bad, changes it with infinite care and caution, guided by the experience of the past. This experience the Tory values as tradition, and out of it he builds a political program adapted to the needs of his day.

Democracy is in process of transformation, which may at any moment turn into revolution. The radicals are crying from the housetops—radicals of the right, radicals of the left, each assuring us of a Utopian future if only we will make a clean sweep of the present. The value of tradition has rarely been at lower ebb. Time will tell whether there is still place for it, even in the birthplace of Toryism. Great Britain is now besieged by an external revolu-

<sup>17</sup> "An Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs," in *ibid.*, IV, 112.

<sup>18</sup> "Of Innovations"; *The Essays: or, Counsels, Civil & Moral: & The Wisdom of the Ancients* (15th ed., Boston, 1883), p. 139.

tion and is meeting it perforce by rapid internal transformation. Either one may obliterate her present institutions. If Hitler cannot, it may be that the British will not: that they will make quick, drastic, and far-reaching changes, without destroying either the body or the spirit of their constitution.

That is now the problem of the Tory party. The danger of settling back into reaction is implicit in its position; caution in reform easily becomes the end, not the method, and reform then goes by the board. This danger is acute; the energies of government are focused on national survival at just the time when domestic changes are most necessary. "A state without the means of some change is without the means of its conservation."<sup>19</sup> This sentence of Burke has never had more meaning than for the government of today. Volcanic social forces have been unloosed by the war; to channel them into ordered transformation requires prompt and daring leadership. Such leadership is perhaps too much to expect from men grappling with war in two hemispheres. But to lose the opportunity is to fail in the supreme test of modern Toryism and to leave the remolding of the state to bolder hands.

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<sup>19</sup> Burke, "Reflections on the Revolution in France," in *Works*, III, 259.

## The Possibility of Union among the Arab States<sup>1</sup>

THERE was a time, prior to the rise of Islam in the seventh Christian century, in which the term "Arab" could be exclusively applied to a somewhat homogeneous people limited to the Arabian peninsula and the inside fringe of the adjoining Fertile Crescent. The term then had primarily an ethnic connotation. With the phenomenal spread of Islam and the Arabic language and the subsequent admixture of Arabian with other ethnic stocks as a result of the far-flung Moslem conquests of the first century after the hegira, the term acquired a different and more extensive meaning. In the ninth century and those immediately following, an Arab could be any Arabic-speaking man from Turkestan and Persia in the east to Morocco and the Iberian peninsula in the west, regardless of original race or nationality. The term thus lost its ethnic and acquired linguistic connotation. Later on, with the break-up of the caliphates of Baghdad, Cordoba, and Cairo and with the resurgence of national life in such countries as Persia and Spain, the Arab world shrank to its present dimensions. It may be an arbitrary but nevertheless useful expedient to limit the term "Arab" in our modern usage to its linguistic significance, reserving the term "Arabian," in its ethnological sense, to the people of the Arabian peninsula.<sup>2</sup>

If we then accept the definition of "Arab" as designating any Arabic-speaking people, especially if Moslem, irrespective of national affiliation or racial origin, our major modern Arab states would include Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Libya, Egypt, Arabia proper, Palestine, Transjordan, Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq—one continuous block extending from the Atlantic Ocean to the Persian Gulf. Other Arab communities in the Sudan and eastern Africa may be ignored in this discussion. The total estimated population of the Arab world is some fifty million.

Of these countries the North African group, exclusive of Egypt, constitutes a unit by itself. Its proximity to Europe, distance from the center and heart of Islam in western Asia, weakness of the Moslem tradition and civilization, the high proportion of the Berber and European elements in its population, and the fact that most of that territory was the first to be de-

<sup>1</sup> This topic was suggested by the 1942 Program Committee of the American Historical Association, and the paper was prepared for the Columbus meeting.

<sup>2</sup> First proposed in Philip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (2d ed., London, 1940), p. 43, n. 2, pp. 240-41.

tached and subjected to foreign European control and influence—all these conspired to weaken national life and make North Africa follow a course of its own. In Morocco the Berber element, be it remembered, is estimated at 60 per cent of the population, in Tunis at 50 per cent. Generally speaking the density of the Berber population increases from east to west and from north to south.<sup>3</sup> Foreign policy, of course, did not fail to pit Berbers against Arabs, to the weakening of both societies. Algeria, in 1830, was the first to fall under European Christian domination. Tunis followed in 1881. Libya came last, in 1911-12. By then the three Latin Mediterranean powers—France, Spain, and Italy—had established full control over practically the whole area.

Unlike the North African the western Asian block has been fed throughout its long history by a constant stream of Semites, of whom the Arabians form the last representative. In western Asia the intrusion of Christian European powers came later than in Africa, where the three powers, especially the French, have pursued a policy of keeping the population as far as possible separate from the rest of the Islamic world and more or less insulated against its currents of thought. To this end the development of the Arabic language was discouraged; in Morocco, Algeria, and Tunis, French is becoming the literary language of the natives. The process of denationalization has been going on for years. Particularly in Algeria, whose littoral is considered an integral part of France herself, has the policy of assimilation been noticeable. In connection with the occupation of North Africa by American troops Laval recalled the oft-repeated claim that that whole region was the “natural prolongation of France.”<sup>4</sup> What facilitates matters is the large number of European settlers and residents. It is estimated that out of a population of some 7,100,000 in Morocco 450,000 are Europeans, and out of a population of about 7,300,000 in Algeria one tenth are French.<sup>5</sup> In Tunis the last figures give 213,000 European settlers in a population of 2,600,000, and in Libya 115,000 in a population of 900,000.<sup>6</sup>

All this emphasizes the point that the Arab states of North Africa began to face over a hundred years ago peculiar problems of their own and gradually developed intellectual and cultural patterns that are distinct and, from the nationalistic standpoint, inferior to those of their co-religionists to the east. Their nationalism remained quiescent, with a few exceptions such as the outbreak headed by ‘Abd-al-Karim in the early 1920’s,<sup>7</sup> and inarticulate

<sup>3</sup> Georges Yver, “Berbers,” *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I (Leyden and London, 1913), 701.

<sup>4</sup> *New York Times*, Nov. 21, 1942.

<sup>5</sup> For exact figures consult Ministère de l’Économie Nationale, direction de la statistique générale et de la documentation, *Annuaire statistique*, LIII, 1937 (Paris, 1938), 269.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Compendio statistico italiano*, 1935, XIV (Rome, 1935), 266.

<sup>7</sup> Adequately described in Arnold J. Toynbee, *Survey of International Affairs*, 1925, Vol. I, *The Islamic World* (Oxford, 1927), pp. 110-63.

and limited to the few intellectuals. We hear of no national figures or leading personalities in Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, or Libya corresponding to those of Egypt, Palestine, or Iraq. We know of no major organizations for canalizing co-operative effort directed toward a nationalist goal or for the propagation of new ideas. Only in Tunis, as might be expected, is the repercussion of intellectual and nationalistic movements emanating or spreading from western Asia and Egypt appreciably felt. The ripple practically dies out by the time it gets as far as Morocco. The fact remains, however, that since the conclusion of the first World War native reaction against European ascendancy throughout northwestern Africa has been gradually replacing the rivalries of the Western powers as the dominant issue of the day.<sup>8</sup>

In this scheme Egypt occupies a distinctive position and acts as an intermediary between the western Asian block and the North African. Geographically a part of Africa, Egypt has been throughout the ages historically and culturally a part of western Asia. In fact the history of all North Africa has formed more a part of Near Eastern than European or African history. The Phoenicians and Carthaginians, Byzantines, Arabs, and Turks controlled most of the areas throughout a large part of ancient, medieval, and modern times.

Egypt was awakened from medieval slumber by Napoleon's expedition in 1798. It thus became the first Arab-Moslem land to establish vital contact with the West. Napoleon introduced into Egypt an Arabic press which he had plundered from the College of Propaganda in Rome, founded the first Arabic newspaper in the valley of the Nile, and established a sort of *académie littéraire*. He thus inadvertently laid the basis for a genuine intellectual movement the cultural effect of which was more significant and far-reaching than the five-year military occupation of the land.<sup>9</sup> But later Egypt was outstripped intellectually by Syria, with its high percentage of Christian population, which was naturally more responsive to Western stimulation. No native Christian minorities exist in North Africa; the Jewish minority is more significant. It was mainly Syrian intellectuals, more specifically Christian Lebanese educated at the American University of Beirut, who in the seventies of the last century set the Arab nationalistic fire burning.<sup>10</sup> Arab nationalism

<sup>8</sup> Louis Massignon, "Africa," in *Whither Islam?* ed. H.A.R. Gibb (London, 1932), especially pp. 84-87.

<sup>9</sup> On the birth of modern Egypt see George Young, *Egypt* (New York, 1927), pp. 23-61. For nationalism in the Near East consult *Nationalism: A Report by a Study Group of Members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs* (Oxford, 1939), pp. 147-51.

<sup>10</sup> George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening* (Philadelphia, 1939), pp. 43, 51-55; Hans Kohn, *A History of Nationalism in the East* (London, 1929), p. 268 ff.; Elizabeth P. MacCullum, *Foreign Policy Reports: The Arab Nationalist Movement* (New York, 1935), p. 51, Martin Hartmann, *The Arabic Press of Egypt* (London, 1899), pp. 3-13.



received its first impetus from modern American ideology, whereas Turkish nationalism, which, strange as it may seem, appeared later on the scene, drew its ideology from French Revolutionary sources. Because of the comparative poverty of Syria and the oppressive rule of the Turks, these Arabic-speaking intellectuals found a more congenial atmosphere for their activity in the valley of the Nile. Even before that the enlightened rule of Ibrahim Pasha (1832-40), whose father Muhammad 'Ali had planned for an Arab empire with Cairo as center long before anyone was ready for it, had served to awaken Syria and open it to European influences. The movement began as an intellectual one, centering on the renaissance of classical Arabic and the study of its literature, drawing its inspiration from the past glory and cultural achievements of the Arabic-speaking peoples, and looking forward to a reunited Arab world.

In the wake of intellectual activity came political activity. As the political aspects developed, they were diversified and localized. In Syria Arab nationalism concentrated its force against Ottoman domination and Turkification and acquired fresh strength from the martyrs' blood shed by Jamal Pasha in the first World War. In Egypt the nationalist aspirations parted company with Pan-Arabism in the early eighties of the last century, when they centered on opposition to British occupation. Under the leadership first of 'Arabi Pasha (1881-82) and later of Mustafa Kamil (1905-08) and Sa'd Zaghlul (1918-27), Egyptian nationalism drew its ideology mainly from French sources and was nourished throughout by hostility to European interference. On the negative side it was a reaction against imperialism and colonial penetration. It took regional coloring because its immediate problem was to consolidate local public opinion and drive the British out of the land. Its motto has ever since been: "Egypt for the Egyptians." Thus did Egypt become the first of the Arabic-speaking lands to be aroused to a sense of nationhood. Its nationalism set the pace for Arab nationalism throughout western Asia; the pattern it wove has been consciously followed by Iraq, Palestine, and Syria.

At the turn of the century the effect of modern archaeological research was beginning to tell on the nationalist consciousness of certain Egyptians, especially Copts, who claimed the heritage of the ancient Pharaonic culture and evoked the Pharaonic ghost. The Islamic-Arabic basis of Egyptian nationalism was challenged by the indigenous tradition going back to Tutenkhamen, Ramses, and Thutmose. An abortive and somewhat naïve attempt was made to revive Coptic as a medium of daily intercourse. The preponderance of non-Arab elements in the make-up of the modern population of Egypt, where the original Hamitic stock is very strong even among the

Moslems, contributed to the anemic character of the Pan-Arab movement in the land.

The Arabian peninsula also has its own problems and occupies a unique position in the present scheme of Arab affairs. The glaring features are its *medievalism*, lack of facile communication even of the interpeninsular type, geographic isolation, and the insulation of its people against modern ideology, which is on the whole European. The urge for national assertion, be it remembered, is only one aspect of a larger process of modernization, secularization, or Westernization, which involves adoption and adaptation of ideas and institutions—political, economic, and social—from Christian Europe and America. This process in itself is not peculiar to the Near East; it is part of a world-wide movement which has in recent years engulfed all Asia and a portion of Africa. What, then, since the 1870's has been agitating the minds of Arabs and Moslems constitutes but a ripple in a global wave. To all such currents of thought Arabia proper has thus far been largely inaccessible.

In this respect the Arabian quadrilateral stands in marked contrast to the Arab crescent, especially to its western horn Syria-Palestine and Lebanon. The emergence of the ultraconservative, puritanical Wahhabis under ibn-al-Sa'ud as the leading community in the peninsula after the first World War represents the extremity of the pendulum swing in that direction in Islam. The swing toward the other extreme of Westernization and secularization is represented by the Kemalist Turks. The Turks and the Wahhabis represent opposite extremes in modern Islamic movements. If the postwar Turks proved to be the "protestants of Islam,"<sup>11</sup> the Wahhabis proved to be the greatest conformists—the sporadic and superficial attempt at modernization by ibn-al-Sa'ud notwithstanding.

Equally immune to European secular ideas are the Zaydis of al-Yaman, whose Imam, Yahya, is even more provincial than his rival to the north. Rivalry between these two, the strongest potentates of Arabia proper, deep-seated hostility between the Ikhwan followers of the one and the Zaydis of the other, together with the low level of culture throughout and the narrow horizon and particularism of political life, preclude the possibility of any immediate *rapprochement* and a gravitation toward a common center of Pan-Arabism. The rest of Arabia, including the Trucial Coast on the Persian Gulf, has been for decades weaned from the motherland and, under British influence, oriented India-ward.

This leaves in the western Asian block one unit, the Fertile Crescent, consisting of Syria (using "Syria" in the popular sense to include Lebanon,

<sup>11</sup> Halidé Edib, *Turkey Faces West* (New Haven, 1930), p. 209.

Palestine, and Transjordan) and Iraq. Under the Turks as well as the Romans, Palestine was the southern part of Syria. Lying as a wedge between the land route and the short sea route to India, it was amputated and mandated to Great Britain after the first World War. In 1921 Transjordan, with a Biblical name but no real historical existence, was in turn amputated from Palestine and given as a "sop" to Amir 'Abdullah, who was then threatening to avenge the loss of the Syrian throne by his brother Faysal in the preceding year. The newly created state east of Palestine served a good purpose as a buffer state between the British mandated territory and the restless Bedouins of the desert. The political frontier drawn between the British mandated and the French mandated areas is an arbitrary line which does not coincide with any physical articulation of the land. Greater Syria is separated by the Taurus Mountains from Anatolia, the Sinaitic peninsula from Egypt, the Nufud wasteland from Najd-Hijaz, and the desert from Iraq.

The postwar separatist movement in Palestine as represented by political Zionism is from the Arab point of view exotic, artificially stimulated, and holds little hope of ultimate and permanent success. If political Zionism aims to give a people who have no country a country which has no people, Palestine does not qualify. Nor does it solve the Jewish problem. Not only to the Arabs but to the entire Moslem society, of whom the Arabs form the spearhead, a sovereign Jewish state in Palestine appears as an anachronism. These Moslems constitute a somewhat self-conscious society of about 275,000,000 people who dominate a large portion of Africa and Asia. Even if the Zionist political program should some day become a reality and Palestine be converted into a Jewish national state, what chance of survival, its opponents argue, has such an alien state amidst a camp of hostile Islam and an unsympathetic Arab world? More and more are Zionists beginning to concentrate on the cultural and spiritual aspects of their cause and to advocate collaboration with the Arabs on that basis.<sup>12</sup> Such realistic and liberal-minded Jews as President Magnes of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem have gone so far as to express themselves as agreeable to joining an Arab federation.<sup>13</sup>

Lebanon's claim to the maintenance of a somewhat separate entity seems more valid than that of Transjordan-Palestine. Throughout the four centuries of Ottoman rule the mountain enjoyed an autonomous feudal status, and after the Maronite-Druze civil war of 1860 its quasi-independence was recognized and guaranteed by international protocols and *règlements organiques* to which not only the Sublime Porte but the then five great European powers

<sup>12</sup> E.g., Albert M. Hyamson, *Palestine: A Policy* (London, 1942), especially pp. 1-26, 189-209.

<sup>13</sup> Judah L. Magnes, "Toward Peace in Palestine," *Foreign Affairs*, XXI (1943), 239-49.

were parties. By 1914, when its autonomy was high-handedly destroyed by the Young Turks, the Lebanon had enjoyed half a century of peace and progress that made it the envy of its neighboring lands. Lebanese immigrants in the United States, whose Westward movement began in the eighties, have served as a liberalizing agent and kept the flame of independence burning through their papers, correspondence, and return visits. Yet Lebanon would not probably be averse to a confederation, provided its autonomy was not impaired. A symposium on this topic suggested by and published in one of the leading Arabic newspapers of Beirut<sup>14</sup> leaves no doubt about that. Even the patriarch of the Maronites, who constitute the champions of the Lebanese full-independence movement, has in recent years come out for co-operation with the Syrian nationalists.

Here, then, we have at last a central coherent geographic block extending from the Sinaitic peninsula to the head of the Persian Gulf. The interposition, between the two main inhabited areas, of the Syrian Desert, which at its widest is some eight hundred miles, presents the greatest difficulty to the means of physical communication, but the two areas are joined in the north. The control and integration of the Bedouin population—a perennial reservoir of demographic vitality to the urban population—no doubt presents a major problem. Not only the geographical but the historical considerations are favorable to a union. These considerations center on the consciousness of a common heritage, linguistic and cultural, and the awareness of a common glorious past going back to Umayyad and ‘Abbasid days, when first Damascus and then Baghdad were the centers of Arab life and Moslem civilization. Social stratification, as between Moslems and non-Moslems, follows time-honored religious lines and, as between settled and nomads, immutable geographic lines. The minorities have throughout the Moslem period played a role of inferiority. But the ideal at which nationalists aim is not uniformity. Despite diversity of racial, national, and religious traditions, there is probably enough feeling of ethnic similarity to serve as a common denominator. Among the older generations, both Moslem and Christian, the sentiment of religious unity is undoubtedly still stronger than the national sentiment, but this can hardly be said to be true among the younger generations, especially those with modern education. Moslem and Christian young men and women, trained as teachers, lawyers, physicians, writers, journalists, and in other learned professions, are forging ahead and elbowing their way to leadership.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *Lisān al-Hāl* (1941), especially the September issues.

<sup>15</sup> For the youth movement consult Hans Kohn, *Nationalism and Imperialism in the Hither East* (London, 1932), pp. 24-26. On the reform movement within Islam consult Richard Hartmann, *Die Krisis des Islam* (Leipzig, 1928), pp. 1-26; Charles C. Adams, *Islam and Modernism in Egypt* (London, 1933), especially pp. 248-68.

It is interesting to note in this connection that the two most pronounced champions of Pan-Arabism among the Arabic-speaking immigrants in the United States were both Christian, one Lebanese<sup>16</sup> and the other Palestinian.<sup>17</sup> Even among French-educated Christian Lebanese the number of advocates of Syro-Arab unity cannot be said to have been negligible.<sup>18</sup>

A distinction should be made here between Pan-Islamism and Pan-Arabism, though the two overlap at many points. Pan-Islamism masquerades under the guise of Pan-Arabism and adds to the confusion.<sup>19</sup> The Pan-Islamic movement is reactionary in character, medieval in concept, and basically hostile to the Christian West. It recruits from the old-school theologians. Its most eloquent spokesman in recent years has been a Druze from Lebanon domiciled in Switzerland, and its most effective protagonist the refugee Mufti of Palestine. Pan-Arabism, on the other hand, endeavors to substitute language for religion as a common basis, recognizes the rights of non-Moslems and dissident minorities, and is generally championed by forward-looking, modern-educated men who want to learn from the West but do not want the West to impose its learning on them.

Any union among Arab states has to begin with this Syrian-Iraqi nucleus. By union here we mean a somewhat loose political association of independent states, a federation, or confederation, of sovereign Arab units similar to the British Commonwealth of Nations minus the crown. Within such a federation the nationalist plans envisage further sharing in a common type of educational program, removal of economic barriers involving tariffs and of such impediments to travel and free intercourse as visas, the institution of a unified currency and postal service, and the adoption of a policy of joint action in all problems of military and foreign affairs.

There was a time, before the first World War, in which it might have been possible to make the unit a vilayet (district) and tie up into some sort of a union the vilayets of Aleppo, Damascus, Beirut, Jerusalem, Baghdad, Basrah, Mosul, etc. Now, however, the situation has been radically changed, owing to the effect of the administration of the French and British mandatory systems in those areas. These systems have unwittingly intensified national feeling but in the meantime narrowed it down to local levels. Op-

<sup>16</sup> Amcen Rihani, see particularly his "The Pan-Arab Dream," *Asia*, XXXVIII (1938), 44-46.

<sup>17</sup> Dr. Fu'ad I. Shatara, founder and president of the Arab National League, New York. On the contribution of Syrian-Americans to the nationalist cause see H. I. Katibah, *The New Spirit in Arab Lands* (New York, 1940), pp. 57-58.

<sup>18</sup> One of the earliest was Khairallah Khairallah; see his *Le problème du Levant: les régions arabes libérées* (Paris, 1919); one of the latest was E. Rabbath in his *L' évolution politique de la Syrie sous le mandat* (Paris, 1928).

<sup>19</sup> Cf. H. A. R. Gibb, "The Future for Arab Unity," *The Near East: Problems and Prospects*, ed. Philip W. Ireland (Chicago, 1942), p. 94; "Arab Nationalism and the War," *The Round Table*, no. 124 (1941), pp. 698-708.

position to the British mandate in Iraq, to the British mandate and its Zionist appendix in Palestine, and to the French mandate in Syria tended to make Arab nationalism more circumscribed than when those regions were administered as vilayets and sanjaqs—rather than countries—by the Turks. It should also be noted that both Faysal and ‘Abdullah agreed to the limitation of their influence to the local affairs of their respective kingdoms as a part of their bargain with the British. Confronted with the choice between their father’s nebulous ideal of Arab unity and two solid thrones in Iraq and Transjordan under British munificent patronage, the two brothers had no difficulty in making up their minds. Since it achieved its independence in 1932, the Iraqi government has taken increased measures against the employment of Syrian and Lebanese teachers in its schools. Even the Syrian government has made it difficult for Lebanese physicians and lawyers to practice their professions in Damascus, and the Lebanese government has been inclined to take retaliatory measures. The present war, however, has re-emphasized the economic and educational interdependence of these contiguous lands. Under the leadership of Egypt negotiations are now under way with Iraq, Lebanon, and Syria, looking forward to a co-ordinated educational program with standardized textbooks and syllabuses.<sup>20</sup> It has long been felt in all these lands that the lack of a unified system of education was one of the main hindrances to unified action and that while the foreign institutions of learning, European and American, have undoubtedly been the main channel through which nationalistic ideas have filtered into the Near East, they have also served as a divisive agent and even as a denationalizing factor in certain instances.

In Palestine the third Arab congress, held in Haifa in 1921, was the first to take the separation of Palestine into account, but the two earlier congresses, held respectively in Jerusalem at the beginning of 1919 and in Damascus in February, 1920, both demanded the reunion of Palestine and Syria. Arab nationalism in Palestine received added impetus from its opposition to Zionism. In fact, aggressive political Zionism inadvertently contributed to the vitalization of nationalism in all adjacent Arab lands. On no other issue did the Arabs in modern times seem to manifest such unanimity. Even on the question of the caliphate there is more friction and less solidarity, as evinced

<sup>20</sup> Reported in the *New York Times*, Feb. 22, 1942. In fact, the agitation for “cultural unity among the Arab states” has been going on for years. The subject was proposed in 1939 to several high officials and writers by *al-Hilāl*, one of the two leading magazines in Egypt, where their statements were published (XXXIX, 250-54). In its January issue of the same year the editor of *al-Hilāl* went as far as soliciting the opinion of several Christian and Moslem religious leaders on the “possibility of union between Islam and Christianity,” and the answers were published (XXXIX, 390-93, 485-88, 643-46, 770-71, 1030-32).



by the proceedings of the caliphate congress in Cairo of 1926 and that in Mecca of the same year.<sup>21</sup> Verbal protests against the Zionist program and cash to fight it have poured in from Morocco to Malay and from all intervening Moslem lands. King al-Husayn of Arabia and leader Muhammad 'Ali of India were interred in the precincts of the Haram at Jerusalem to re-emphasize the sacredness of Palestine in Moslem eyes. Muhammad's brother Shawkat 'Ali, with the Mufti of Palestine al-Hajj Amin al-Husayni, headed a movement to establish a Moslem university in Jerusalem as a rival to the Hebrew University. At the September, 1937, meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations the representative of Egypt<sup>22</sup> and that of Iraq took it upon themselves to speak in behalf of Arab Palestine in its struggle against Zionism. A glance at the picture of the delegation to the Round Table Conference held in London, January, 1939, reveals a unique group of Christian and Moslem Arab leaders, with fezes, turbans, and *kūfiyahs*, from Egypt, al-Yaman, al-Hijaz, Iraq, Syria, and Palestine.

On the whole it looks as if all the raw material out of which a federation of Arab states, beginning with Syria and Iraq, could be woven is there; what is still lacking is the master weaver, the leader who Faysal-like may appear any day. The British in conjunction with the Free French have already expressed their approval of such a federation, as may be indicated by an announcement of Anthony Eden on May 29, 1941, endorsed by General Catroux on June 8. Around this nucleus Egypt and Arabia may some day in the future cluster. The trend on both the national and international levels is unmistakable. The indication of history is equally clear. Throughout their long and checkered career the periods in which the two horns of the Fertile Crescent—Greater Syria and Iraq—stood severed were but brief episodes compared to those in which they were joined as parts of an integral whole. Whether the North African block could in the remote future be brought within the political orbit of Arabism depends upon national and international factors too complicated to be foreseen.<sup>23</sup> The fact, however, remains that today an Iraqi would feel much more at home with a Tunisian than with a next-door Iranian neighbor, not only because of language facilities but also

<sup>21</sup> On the proceedings of these congresses consult Achille Sékally, *Le congrès du khalifat (Le Caire, 13-19 mai 1926) et le congrès du monde musulman (La Mekke, 7 juin - 5 juillet 1926)* (Paris, 1926), which first appeared in *Revue du monde musulman*, LXIV (1926), 2me trimestre. Several notices from the Arabic press appeared in *Oriente moderno*, VI (1926), May, June, and July issues.

<sup>22</sup> A. Copt; see "Egypt Stands by Palestine," *Great Britain and the East*, XII (1937), 421.

<sup>23</sup> The question of the possibility of forming a "common front of all Arabic-speaking peoples" was debated in *al-Hilāl*, XLVII (1938), 1-7, 24-121, by the president of the Egyptian house of representatives, the director of the Egyptian University, the leading Syrian poet in Egypt, and another distinguished writer.

because of a common way of life. The Pan-Arab congress of Jerusalem, which convened in December, 1931, and attracted more representatives than any other one, adopted a covenant which enunciated three principles: (1) the Arab countries are a "complete and indivisible whole"; the Arab nation cannot recognize its dismemberment; (2) the inhabitants of all Arab countries must concentrate their energies on the achievement of complete independence to the exclusion of all separate tendencies; (3) imperialism in all its forms is incompatible with Arab aspirations and should be combated with all available resources. The pact was sworn by delegates from Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Iraq, and the Arabian peninsula.<sup>24</sup> The League of National Action, which was held in Qurnayil, Lebanon, August, 1933, also emphasized the "unity of Arab lands" in Asia and Africa, without defining them.<sup>25</sup> But the second Pan-Arab congress, held in 1937 in Bludan, near Damascus, under the presidency of the Egyptian ex-minister, 'Allubah Pasha, defined for the first time the Arab lands as extending "from the Atlas Mountains in the west to the Persian Gulf in the east and from Turkey in the north to the Indian Ocean in the south."<sup>26</sup> Prior to 1900 we know of no congress that could be called representative of the Arab or Moslem world.

A federation of Arab states, though on a miniature scale, would be conducive to stability in the Near East and would be easier to tie up, than would tiny separate states, with that new world order which we hope will emerge after the clouds of the present conflict have cleared away. All local feeling of nationality has to tone down and all sovereignty has to be limited to fit into the new order.

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<sup>24</sup> Full account in *Oriente moderno*, XVII (1932), 24-43.

<sup>25</sup> *Bayān al-Mu'tamar al-Ta'sisi li-'Uṣbat al-'Amal al-Qūmi al-Mun'aqid fi Qurnāyil* (Aleppo, 1933?).

<sup>26</sup> See *Oriente moderno*, XVII (1937), 497 ff.; "Arabs in Congress," *Great Britain and the East*, XII (1937), 379.

\* \* \* *Notes and Suggestions* \* \* \*

## The Collection of World War I Materials in the States

SHORTLY after Pearl Harbor a considerable number of historians and librarians gave serious consideration to the question of preserving contemporary materials of various kinds throughout the nation. Some research libraries had been collecting systematically national and international records on the war since September, 1939. Preservation of the Federal government's official records was well assured by legal safeguards and the enlightened program of the National Archives. Some historians, however, were keenly aware of the difficulty of establishing controls to guarantee permanent survival of the essential sources on the war effort at home and the effect of the world conflict on the several states and localities. With the hope that the term "war records" might not be too narrowly interpreted and that the problems of organized effort might be carefully considered, the Social Science Research Council's Committee on the Control of Social Data authorized a study of the whole question pertaining to the several states. Some of the results of this study were published in the form of a proposed "Plan"<sup>1</sup> adaptable to varying conditions throughout the nation.

By the end of 1942 state-wide war records projects were in operation in Minnesota, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. Meanwhile, the National Resources Planning Board's Committee on Conservation of Cultural Resources (CCCCR) had assumed responsibility for promoting this movement along lines suggested in the study and publication authorized by the Social Science Research Council. Working largely through its state committees, the national CCCR urged the launching of state projects sponsored preferably by archival agencies or research libraries to assure permanent preservation of the materials collected. During the past months it has served as a clearinghouse for information, giving advice on the organization of such programs, on the means of encouraging local activity in relation to state projects, and on the kinds of materials to be collected. One of the chief aims in this promotional effort on a nation-wide scale is to anticipate the popular desire for war histories as well as the scholar's interest in studying the war

<sup>1</sup> Lester J. Cappon, *A Plan for the Collection and Preservation of World War II Records* (New York, Social Science Research Council, Oct., 1942). The present article is a revision of part of the detailed report made to the Social Science Research Council.

period by providing the necessary source materials, some of which are most easily obtainable now, others later on.<sup>2</sup>

This widespread concern with all kinds of records pertaining to the present World War suggests an inquiry into what was done in this respect a generation ago to preserve the sources of World War I. Although the entrance of the United States into that war in April, 1917, had been imminent for some time, the conflict seemed so remote that far less thought had been given then to potential source materials during our neutrality than in the months before Pearl Harbor. Most historical agencies in the states were carrying on their usual activities, untouched as yet by Armageddon and disinterested for the most part in recent, not to mention current, sources. However, after the United States became an active participant in World War I, some historians, both professional and amateur, took action to preserve war materials which they regarded essential for subsequent historical work. Patriotic motives came into play also in using historical and current records for war propaganda and in planning memorial volumes as state and local tributes to those who had served their country.

The first impetus to this movement came from a group of historians in Washington, D. C., who in April, 1917, organized the National Board for Historical Service, a nonofficial body seeking to place historical scholarship at the service of the government by adapting educational and research efforts to war needs throughout the country.<sup>3</sup> One means of accomplishing this purpose was "to secure the interests of history and of historical students by promoting the intelligent collection and preservation of historical materials." By correspondence the board urged historical societies, state historical commissions, libraries, and defense councils to organize projects. Although the board, acting in advisory capacity, promoted the collection of war records as only one of its many functions, it stimulated constructive work in many states and accumulated a valuable file of reports which was published later.<sup>4</sup> The idea of a national agency to promote and give proper direction to multiple war records projects was a sound one then and is again today.

<sup>2</sup> In the Federal government the director of the budget has appointed a Committee on the Records of War Administration with a special research staff. They are consulting with officials of both emergency and permanent agencies in Washington on supplementing routine record-keeping with written statements (to be kept confidential as long as it may be deemed necessary and proper) on why and how certain war policies are evolved and decisions reached. This project promises to provide the future historian with unique data on the conduct of the war. Many departments and bureaus of the government have set up historical sections to study contemporary records in preparation for histories of their participation in the war.

<sup>3</sup> Waldo G. Leland, "The National Board for Historical Service," *American Historical Association, Annual Report for 1919* (2 vols., Washington, 1923), I, 161-89.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 205-93. The original records of the board are in the Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. Before the board was discontinued it helped form the National Association of State War History Organizations in 1919.

In all sections of the country the effort to collect war materials took the form of state projects, for it was generally assumed that greatest interest could be aroused and best results achieved on this basis. The role of state historical societies and libraries in many states was significant, not merely in co-operating with the council of defense or the war history commission but in carrying on the work after emergency bodies had lapsed and in translating some of the interest in war records into terms of normal historical activity in time of peace. State-wide organizations also offered an opportunity to set up town and county historical committees and tactfully to direct their efforts to useful ends. Whatever the patriotic citizen contributed was perhaps more worth while because the records of his state and county somehow expressed his own part in the war.

Of the states which took action in 1917, New York led the way through its Division of Archives and History by sending circular letters in April to all local libraries, historical agencies, and public officials. The Indiana State Library was equally prompt, supported by the State Council of Defense and succeeded in 1919 by the Indiana Historical Commission, a newly created body.<sup>5</sup> The Minnesota Historical Society was engaged in the collection of records from the beginning of the war, although a separate War History Commission was not established until October, 1918.<sup>6</sup> In August, 1917, New Hampshire and New Mexico provided for special historical offices; in the autumn North Carolina did the same, while Michigan and Iowa operated through their respective state historical societies.<sup>7</sup> From the end of the year until the armistice at least twelve other states initiated similar programs or had agencies designated to do so. Among these were California, whose War History Committee was placed in the hands of the Historical Survey Commission in 1919;<sup>8</sup> Ohio and Wisconsin, where in each case a War History Commission functioned in close co-operation with the state historical society;<sup>9</sup> and Illinois, whose historical committee became the War Records Section of

<sup>5</sup> Waldo G. Leland and Newton D. Mereness, *Introduction to the American Official Sources for the Economic and Social History of the World War* (New Haven, 1926), pp. 450-51, 466; Am. Hist. Assoc., *Annual Report for 1919*, I, 227-28.

<sup>6</sup> *Minnesota History Bulletin*, II (1917-18), 169-72, 579-80; Leland and Mereness, p. 461.

<sup>7</sup> Am. Hist. Assoc., *Annual Report for 1919*, I, 243, 254-55; North Carolina Historical Commission, *Seventh Biennial Report . . . 1916-1918* (Raleigh, 1919), pp. 20-21, and *Eighth Biennial Report* (1921), pp. 13-15; *Michigan History Magazine*, I (1917), 113-14, and II (1918), 12-15. Iowa also began a monthly publication, *Iowa and War*, containing both historical and contemporary accounts.

<sup>8</sup> Leland and Mereness, pp. 441-42; National Board for Historical Service Papers, Box 3, California file (MSS, in Library of Congress).

<sup>9</sup> Am. Hist. Assoc., *Annual Report for 1919*, I, 264-67, 288-91; *Wisconsin Mag. of Hist.*, I (1917-18), 437-38; II (1918-19), 219-23, 474-76; letters of Milo M. Quaife and Alice E. Smith to the writer, Mar. 3 and 12, 1942, respectively.

the State Historical Library for four years from July, 1919.<sup>10</sup> The situation in these states points to the vital importance of the historical society with prestige throughout the state and a constructive policy directed by intelligent scholarship. Here may well be the explanation for the fact that more states in the Middle West—a region famous for its state historical societies and their scholarly achievements—than in any other section were notably successful in their war records projects.

By the end of 1918 at least twenty states were engaged in such activities, with most notable accomplishments throughout their programs in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Texas, and Wisconsin. Although the period of America's belligerency was short, scholarly and public interest in war records was sufficiently prolonged to develop similar projects in many other states from 1919 until as late as 1923.<sup>11</sup> Virginia and Maryland were especially active. The Virginia War History Commission, supported by a generous legislative appropriation in 1920, developed an ambitious program of collection and publication, resulting in seven volumes of primary and secondary material. The records of the commission were entrusted eventually to the state archives. The Maryland War Records Commission, like that of Virginia, encouraged county co-operation, but with more emphasis upon the compilation of individual military service records. After the Maryland commission expired, its accumulation of records was neglected and destroyed through carelessness in 1942.<sup>12</sup> Patriotic enthusiasm for World War materials declined steadily after 1920, and legislative appropriations to continue these state enterprises became increasingly difficult to secure.

It was both logical and desirable to extend the war records activity into the local community. Indeed, the adoption of this policy in all parts of the country seems to have been taken for granted as a natural complement to the state plan of organization. It was desirable because in some communities the interest in war history was a sort of spontaneous expression of patriotism which needed direction and deserved encouragement. It behooved the professional historian in charge of the state program to appreciate the unique value of

<sup>10</sup> Leland and Mereness, pp. 447-50; Illinois State Historical Society, *Transactions . . . 1919* (Springfield, 1920), pp. 17-18, 24-25; *ibid.* (1920), pp. 18-19. The other six states beginning projects before the end of the war were Alabama, Connecticut, Kentucky, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Texas, and Wyoming.

<sup>11</sup> Colorado, Georgia, Maryland, Massachusetts, Missouri, New Jersey, Tennessee, Vermont, and Virginia.

<sup>12</sup> Am. Hist. Assoc., *Annual Report for 1919*, I, 238-40, 283-84; Virginia War History Commission, *News Letter* (1919-20); Maryland War Records Commission, *Maryland in the World War, 1917-1919* (2 vols., Baltimore, 1933), I, ix-xii; letters of Karl Singewald and Morris L. Radoff to the writer, Feb. 27 and Mar. 9, 1942, and Apr. 2, 1942, respectively.



certain local materials and to realize that in this field he was largely dependent upon the help of the amateur. Counties with progressive historical organizations or even patriotic societies offered real potentialities that did not wait of necessity for outside encouragement. The St. Joseph County (Michigan) Pioneer and Historical Association, for example, began to collect material as soon as the United States entered the war.<sup>13</sup> Here again the alert state historical society was in the best position to turn the local situation to advantage, especially where the policy of cultivating mutual interests had already been pursued. Such was the case in a number of these Midwestern states, and co-operative work on war materials proved to be a means of extending these benefits to other counties. A total of twenty-one states adopted the county or local committee plan in various forms.

Some state organizations endeavored to set up a war history committee in every county. New York State, in fact, went so far as to enact a law calling for the appointment of a local historian in each political unit of the state to collect and preserve material in co-operation with the state historian.<sup>14</sup> The latter requested a periodic report from each local officer on various war activities and records, but the original materials remained in the locality. Substantially the same plan was followed in California. In Michigan, Indiana, and Minnesota the county committees were encouraged to build up collections. In each of these states the legislature authorized county officials to appropriate funds up to a certain maximum for this purpose and to publish war histories.<sup>15</sup> These collections were to be maintained permanently in the counties, and some of the committees evidently took great pride in their accomplishments. In North Carolina and Ohio, on the other hand, the state agency aimed to centralize material as much as possible, as the best guarantee of its preservation and accessibility for research.<sup>16</sup> The writing of war history was emphasized more than collecting activity in many localities, and county histories were generally written by local persons from these records and from their own participation in war work.

The well-organized state agency, if it had funds to reach beyond incidental expenses, attempted to maintain local contacts by field work in addition to state-wide correspondence. Conferences and public addresses afforded an

<sup>13</sup> *Michigan Hist. Mag.*, IV (1920), 75.

<sup>14</sup> Act passed Apr. 11, 1919, quoted in part in Am. Hist. Assoc., *Annual Report for 1919*, I, 258-59.

<sup>15</sup> Am. Hist. Assoc., *Annual Report for 1919*, I, 209-11; California State Council for Defense, War History Committee, *California in the War* (Sacramento, [1918]); *Michigan Hist. Mag.*, III (1919), 311-12; *Indiana Mag. Hist.*, XVII (1921), 201; *Minnesota Hist. Bull.*, IV (1921), 104.

<sup>16</sup> North Carolina Historical Commission, *Eighth Biennial Report . . . 1918-20*, pp. 17, 19; *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, XXVII (1918), 272.

opportunity for injecting the professional historian's viewpoint and arousing or encouraging the interest of various organizations. Several states prepared manuals or outlines for distribution among the localities to guide them in collecting material and in writing war histories. Iowa published five such pamphlets; Wisconsin, four; Minnesota and North Carolina, three each; and Indiana, two.<sup>17</sup> California, after publishing its "Plan for Gathering and Preserving Records and Historical Materials," issued a series of mimeographed circulars elaborating upon it.<sup>18</sup> In providing its "county war history prospectus" the Indiana Historical Commission pointed out that miscellaneous war records "are of such a nature that unless they are obtained *now*, many of them will become lost forever."<sup>19</sup> One of the most detailed of these pamphlets was issued by Pennsylvania. It included classes of material to be preserved, reports to be made to the state commission, nature of local committees, procedure, expenses, and "an outline for a state or county history of the war."<sup>20</sup>

What kinds of materials did the state war organizations specify for collection and preservation? Although they confined their efforts quite strictly to the period of actual fighting, many of the states fully realized the historical value of records of civilian activities as well as military engagements. Some of the directors of these projects set no limits to the variety of materials that might, directly or indirectly, throw some light on the nation's war effort. The broadening of the conception of historical sources since the turn of the century is reflected in this attitude. It may be asserted, too, that this practical application of the idea during the brief period from 1918 to 1921 or thereabouts provided part of the background, little known or appreciated to date, for the widespread development of social history in the United States during the past twenty years.

Think for a moment what we would give if we could have the so-called "commonplace" historical materials of the American Revolution, such as soldiers' letters, their diaries, letters from home, memoranda, programs and reports of public and

<sup>17</sup> Iowa State Historical Society, *Bulletin of Information*, no. 8 (1918), and *Iowa and War*, nos. 19-21, 23 (1919-20); Wisconsin War History Commission, *Bulletin*, nos. 1-4 (1918-19); Minnesota War Records Commission, *Bulletin*, nos. 1-3 (1918-20); North Carolina Historical Commission, *Do Your Part: Make North Carolina War Record Complete* [n.d.], *An Aftermath of Vainglory* [n.d.], and a third pamphlet, no copy located; Indiana Historical Commission, *Bulletin*, nos. 9-10—same as *War History Bulletin*, nos. 1-2 (1919).

<sup>18</sup> *California in the War*. Copies of these circulars are among the papers of the National Board for Historical Service.

<sup>19</sup> *Bulletin* no. 10, p. 13.

<sup>20</sup> Pennsylvania War History Commission, *Pennsylvania's Participation in the World War, 1917-1918. "Make Pennsylvania's War History Complete"* (Harrisburg, 1919). Similar publications published in other states: Michigan Historical Commission, *Michigan War Records . . . Bulletin* no. 10 (Lansing, 1919); Ohio Historical Commission, *Bulletin* (Columbus, 1918); University of Texas, *Directions for Organizing War History Committees and Collecting Material . . . Bulletin* no. 1 (Austin, 1919); Virginia War History Commission, *News Letter* (1919-20).

private functions to aid the cause. . . . People then living did not collect them and these precious memorials have perished.<sup>21</sup>

This comment from Michigan illustrates the historical viewpoint which influenced policy and planning in the states where the best results were achieved.

The materials collected may be grouped in six general classes. First should be listed state and local archival records of emergency agencies which were concerned entirely with the conduct of the war. Most obvious were council of defense records. Many state commissions or historical societies with little else to their credit at least acquired these after the body went out of existence. Where such material was saved virtually *in toto*, it has proved valuable in showing relations with normal departments of state government and with wartime divisions of the Federal government.<sup>22</sup> The Minnesota War Records Commission also acquired alien registrations, farm crop, and labor census records from the state auditor, data on women in industry from the Bureau of Women and Children, and certain military service records from the adjutant general.<sup>23</sup> Some states secured custody of Federal archival materials also: in North Carolina, the papers of the United States Food and Fuel Administrators; in Texas, documents on the first Liberty Loan drive from the Federal Reserve, "by raking them out of the furnaces where they had been dumped in preparation for destruction."<sup>24</sup> Preservation of local archival records pertaining to the war was not easily assured, even in states with well-organized projects. It was difficult to exert control over records so widely scattered and so often in the hands of indifferent officials. In many instances it is fortunate if a written summary of the county defense council's work is extant.

The second class consists of materials of unofficial or non-governmental organizations, either those created to perform certain emergency functions or usual peacetime bodies engaged in special war activities. In this group are the records not only of the War Camp Community Service, the Red Cross, and the National League of Women's Service, but also of innumerable organizations doing war work as a special service, like the Y.M.C.A., the Salvation Army, religious denominations, and economic, political, and social institutions of various kinds. Many state projects, however, directed their attention chiefly to emergency organizations and apparently made little effort to reach beyond printed materials into the field of manuscripts. In the third

<sup>21</sup> *Michigan Hist. Mag.*, II (1918), 10-11.

<sup>22</sup> E.g., the New York State Defense Council's correspondence with and other records pertaining to various divisions of the state adjutant general's office and the National Defense Council, in the New York State Library; Edna L. Jacobsen to the writer, Mar. 16, 1942, including typewritten inventory (pp. 9).

<sup>23</sup> *Minnesota Hist. Bull.*, IV, 102-03, 207, 295.

<sup>24</sup> North Carolina Historical Commission, *Eighth Biennial Report, 1918-20*, p. 24; Milton R. Gutsch, University of Texas, to the writer, Mar. 3, 1942.

class are newspapers, widely recognized as important by individuals who, in those pre-radio years, had obtained news of the war and its impact upon local affairs mainly from this medium, and by historical societies which had long been preserving newspapers as a matter of course. News sheets of army camps and hospitals were a unique source of which some states took special cognizance, Ohio being a notable example.<sup>25</sup> In addition to war files of dailies and weeklies some war history commissions and numerous county committees compiled scrapbooks of mounted clippings on a wide variety of subjects. Personal manuscript materials may be classified in the fourth group—letters and diaries of men and women in war services, some of which were published in the early postwar years.<sup>26</sup> Unfortunately little attempt was made to preserve similar papers of persons in civilian life. An unusual kind of personal record was produced in Minnesota and sent to the War Records Commission. It was called “Chronicles of the Selective Draft,” consisting of accounts of the human side of the draft, as distinguished from summary statistical reports, written by local officials at the instance of the provost marshal.<sup>27</sup>

In the fifth group are war posters, broadsides, photographs, and miscellaneous material used for exhibit purposes as well as for research. In Minnesota through a well-advertised exhibit the St. Paul Public Library and the Ramsey County War Records Committee assembled a permanent collection of several thousand photographs of soldiers and wartime scenes.<sup>28</sup> Members of the Keweenaw Historical Society in Upper Michigan were urged to utilize amateur photography in preserving a pictorial record of local persons and events during the war.<sup>29</sup> In this group may be mentioned the collection of war-inspired music made by the University of Texas through contributions of the nation’s musical publishing houses.<sup>30</sup> Museum objects comprise the sixth class, acquired by historical societies and kindred institutions often haphazardly and, sometimes, with good reason, none too willingly. Physical remains from the war years in America were likely to be regarded indifferently as compared with trophies from the battlefields of France. The seventy-five-millimeter gun might be mounted on the courthouse green, but the plethora of German helmets was a serious problem of museums for many years.

As already suggested, the term “war history” was subject to a variety of

<sup>25</sup> Am. Hist. Assoc., *Annual Report for 1919*, I, 265; Arthur M. Schlesinger, “The Khaki Journalists, 1917-1919,” *Mississippi Valley Hist. Rev.*, VI (1919-20), 350-59. Ohio also appreciated the importance of the foreign language press; see Carl Wittke, “Ohio’s German-Language Press and the War,” *Ohio Archaeol. and Hist. Quar.*, XXVIII (1919), 82-95.

<sup>26</sup> The Virginia War History Commission published a volume of *Virginia War Letters, Diaries and Editorials*, ed. Arthur Kyle Davis; Source Vol. III (Richmond, 1925).

<sup>27</sup> *Minnesota Hist. Bull.*, III (1919), 53.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 104.

<sup>29</sup> *Michigan Hist. Mag.*, II, 414.

<sup>30</sup> Gutsch to the writer, Mar. 3, 1942.

interpretations from state to state and county to county. Some enthusiasts wanted to write the war history before the source materials were collected. A few state commissions, however, under scholarly direction may have erred in prolonging the period of collecting and research beyond the time when public interest was still sufficient to finance publication. There is another angle to the interpretation of war history which deserves emphasis in connection with types of materials. The compilation of data on the military service of thousands of individuals forms a seventh or supplementary class of records, part source and part secondary. This was the most common form of war records activity in all parts of the country. The data were obtained from state adjutant general offices, newspaper articles, questionnaires, personal interviews, and eventually from the War Department. Patriotic societies, old and new, participated in this work, endeavoring first to complete the "gold star lists" of persons who had died in the service.<sup>31</sup> The Oregon state historian prepared an elaborate questionnaire covering parentage, education, occupation before the war, and marital status as well as military record. In Minnesota, when the legislature granted a cash bonus to all men who had served in the armed forces, the War Records Commission secured an arrangement whereby every applicant for the bonus was required to fill out the commission's military service record form.<sup>32</sup> In Texas the county clerks were required to enter in suitable record books the "official discharge of each soldier, sailor, or other person resident in the county who served at home or abroad in the army or navy forces of the United States."<sup>33</sup> Although these undertakings suffered from inaccuracies and lack of judgment in evaluating sources of information, together with needless duplication of effort when several organizations in the same community were interested in the same data from slightly different points of view, these were spontaneous patriotic enterprises which, all unconsciously, challenged the professional historian to provide them with as skillful and tactful direction as he could muster. In some states these files were elaborately indexed to give them maximum utility, but it cannot be denied that the gathering of these records fostered a narrow conception of war materials and made first claim on public funds for historical work to the disadvantage of other projects.

Before discussing the results of the collection and preservation of World War I materials by these numerous state and local organizations, it should be pointed out that there were at least a few records projects set up nationally,

<sup>31</sup> The first World War publication of the Indiana Historical Commission was the *Gold Star Honor Roll*, ed. John W. Oliver (Indianapolis, 1921).

<sup>32</sup> Am. Hist. Assoc., *Annual Report for 1919*, I, 248. This procedure resulted in more than eighty thousand completed service records for the commission.

<sup>33</sup> *Southwestern Hist. Quar.*, XXII (1918-19), 361.

though dependent upon local co-operation. This was especially true in the religious field, represented by the General Wartime Commission of the Protestant Churches, the National Catholic War Council, and the American Jewish Committee. All of these included collection of certain war materials among their functions and compiled data on the war services of clergy and laity.<sup>34</sup> Numerous university libraries were engaged in the collection of war materials pertaining chiefly to the United States as a whole and to foreign countries, but each of these institutions acted independently and few had any part in the state programs which have been described. The University of Texas was a notable exception. The Texas war records project originated with the department of history, and the university library was made the repository for all materials, state and local, national and foreign.<sup>35</sup>

From the foregoing account it must be clear that the best results were achieved by the program planned and executed by capable and permanent state historical agencies or by temporary war history commissions operating in conjunction with permanent agencies. In some of the latter cases the materials acquired usually came into the custody of those best fitted to preserve them and make them accessible for research. Little publicity has ever been given to these collections except in contemporary annual reports and in the news sections of historical journals, organs of the societies retaining the records. With the revival of interest in war materials occasioned by the present crisis, "Inventories of Records of World War Emergency Activities" have been prepared for several states by the Historical Records Survey. Three—on Illinois, Minnesota, and Louisiana—have been published to date.<sup>36</sup> The voluminous material available in Minnesota (most of it in the Minnesota Historical Society) and the fragmentary records in Louisiana are eloquent testimony to the effectiveness of organization in the one state and the lack of any in the other.<sup>37</sup> The well-organized historical society or state archives which took responsibility for preserving war records had had some experience in collecting materials of all kinds that could be applied to special problems at hand; furthermore it was able to receive the fruits of its efforts long after the formal project had ended. Although we know that certain states have collections of undoubted research value,<sup>38</sup> a detailed nation-wide survey

<sup>34</sup> Am. Hist. Assoc., *Annual Report for 1919*, I, 189-98.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 278-79; Gutsch to the writer, Mar. 3 and 13, 1942.

<sup>36</sup> Prepared by the Work Projects Administration in each state; mimeographed. Illinois: Springfield, Jan., 1942; Minnesota: St. Paul, Dec., 1941; Louisiana: University, Jan., 1942.

<sup>37</sup> On Louisiana see Leland and Mereness, pp. 455-56.

<sup>38</sup> At the risk of omitting others equally worthy of mention, repositories (chiefly state archives or historical societies) in the following states should be listed: Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Texas (University of), Virginia, and Wisconsin.



of these resources would surely yield much significant and unexpected information, along with some predictable negative results. Specific data on local war collections in the localities are even more scarce. Where town or county historical societies provided adequate facilities, the preservation of such war collections may have been assured; but what, for example, has been the fate of the nine volumes of material prepared in Dubois County, Indiana, shortly after the war and deposited in an oak case under glass in the courthouse?<sup>39</sup> In some localities these records were entrusted to the public library where perhaps there was better chance for their survival than in the courthouse.<sup>40</sup> According to a report made early in 1921, more than fifty of the ninety-two counties in Indiana "have collected and compiled a history showing their part played in the World War," but it is not clear how much of this "history" consisted of original records or of historical narrative. In Minnesota thirteen counties had "assembled local war records" by the mid-1920's.<sup>41</sup> In hundreds of other localities in all sections of the United States similar attempts were made, but our only convenient clue to records accumulated is through the hundreds of inventories of county archives published by the Historical Records Survey.<sup>42</sup>

Numerous publications resulted from state and local interest in the first World War, but relatively few of them were issued by the agencies most directly concerned with the records. Publications may be classified as follows: state histories, county, town, or city histories, college or university histories, rosters of men and women in war services, histories of certain military units, and special subjects. War histories of six states—Illinois, Indiana, Iowa ("Chronicles of the War"), Maryland, Massachusetts, and Minnesota—and of the territory of Hawaii were published by official war records commissions or permanent state agencies connected with them. Of these, the two volumes on *Minnesota in the War with Germany, 1917-1918*,<sup>43</sup> are most deserving of commendation. It should be noted that Illinois, Indiana, and Minnesota also published some primary source material and that the volumes of the Virginia War History Commission were mainly of this character. In

<sup>39</sup> *Indiana Mag. Hist.*, XVII, 375-76. On similar conditions in Kentucky see Kentucky State Historical Society *Register*, XIX (1921), 121-22.

<sup>40</sup> The Hennepin County (Minnesota) war service and welfare records were turned over to the Minneapolis Public Library, *Minnesota Hist. Bull.*, V (1923), 83; some Muskegon County (Michigan) records were similarly preserved, *Michigan Hist. Mag.*, III, 22-23.

<sup>41</sup> *Indiana Mag. Hist.*, XVII, 111; Minnesota War Records Commission, *Third Biennial Report . . . for the Years 1923 and 1924* (St. Paul, 1925), p. 5.

<sup>42</sup> Occasionally a story of the county war collection appeared in the local newspaper, but these would be very difficult to locate, *Wisconsin Mag. Hist.*, IV (1920-21), 112; *Michigan Hist. Mag.*, III, 15-17.

<sup>43</sup> By Franklin F. Holbrook and Livia Appel (St. Paul, 1928-32). Minnesota War Records Commission *Publications*, III-IV.

six states war histories were published on a commercial basis,<sup>44</sup> having no connection with war records projects. References have been found to local histories published by war history committees or other governmental agencies in Indiana, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, totaling seventeen titles.<sup>45</sup> Local historical societies in California, Indiana, Massachusetts, and Oklahoma sponsored five others, and patriotic societies one each in Massachusetts, North Carolina, and Ohio. By way of contrast, fifty other local war histories were commercial ventures, although in a few cases some acknowledgment was made to the county committees and their collections.<sup>46</sup>

In view of the widespread interest in individual service records discussed earlier, it may seem strange that only a limited number of rosters were printed. Perhaps the cost of publishing these voluminous records was often excessive. Compilations of this kind were published by the adjutant general's office of California, Kansas, Maine, Nevada, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, South Carolina, and Vermont; and by the war records agency of Indiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Utah, Virginia, and Wisconsin.<sup>47</sup> The state roster apparently had little appeal for the commercial publisher, although seventeen local imprints of this nature have been recorded from eleven different states. Some publications combined war history and roster of the state or county, with a tendency to emphasize the latter at the expense of the former. The same was true of certain college or university war memorial volumes.<sup>48</sup> The historical sketches of various military units, like most of the state and county war histories commercially published or privately printed, were the work of enthusiastic amateurs.<sup>49</sup> Historical journals and other periodicals have carried articles from time to time on special war subjects pertaining to the several states and localities.

<sup>44</sup> Illinois, Kansas, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Vermont, and Wisconsin.

<sup>45</sup> Five each in New York and Virginia, two each in Indiana and Massachusetts, and one each in the remaining states. Worthy of special note is the *World War Service Record of Rochester and Monroe County, New York*, published by the city of Rochester (3 vols., Rochester, 1924-30).

<sup>46</sup> The following list is doubtless incomplete: Georgia, 1; Illinois, 1; Indiana, 4; Iowa, 1; Kansas, 1; Maryland, 2; Massachusetts, 1; Minnesota, 9; Montana, 2; Nebraska, 2; New Jersey, 2; New York, 9; Oklahoma, 1; Oregon, 1; Pennsylvania, 3; Tennessee, 6; Texas, 1; Virginia, 1; Wisconsin, 2.

<sup>47</sup> The Minnesota war records program was delayed to meet the demands (enacted by the legislature) of veterans of a previous war by publishing first a volume on *Minnesota in the Spanish-American War and the Philippine Insurrection* (1923). Cf. *Minnesota Hist. Bull.*, IV, 100-01.

<sup>48</sup> A partial list of these volumes includes titles on Amherst, Boston College, Cornell, Dartmouth, Harvard, Indiana University, Massachusetts Agricultural College, M. I. T., Ohio State, Oregon University, Princeton, St. Lawrence, University of Virginia, Williams, and Yale.

<sup>49</sup> Two notable exceptions were *The Thirty-second Division in the World War, 1917-1919*, published jointly by the Wisconsin and Michigan war history commissions in 1920, and a *History of the 151st Field Artillery, Rainbow Division*, by the Minnesota War Records Commission in 1924.

It is difficult to identify tangible results from the war records activity in historical and archival work of the 1920's. In many states the official records of the war period were lost or survived by accident; certainly they had relatively little influence on archival developments which came mostly in the 1930's. Even where historical societies played an important role in the collection of war materials, that activity was but a brief interlude in a larger program. The records were usually stored away and, according to replies received from numerous states, they have not yet been inventoried. There is some evidence to indicate that local historical activity was furthered somewhat by the collecting of war materials. One woman in Indiana testified that "Our part in the World War stimulated our interest in collecting historical data. The state historical commission insisted that we keep accurate account of our war activities. After the war we were urged to organize a county historical society."<sup>50</sup> The establishment in Minnesota of the Wilkin County Historical Society was occasioned by the launching of war records work in that locality.<sup>51</sup> On the other hand, it may be argued that progressive state societies would foster such local movements in any case and that cause and effect are easily confused. Some enthusiasm was aroused for local museums but it is doubtful whether any long-time results materialized beyond institutions already well established or without the impact of more weighty influences.

American historiography on World War I has been concerned, from the scholarly standpoint, chiefly with foreign relations and economic problems national in scope, based upon official records of the Federal government and personal material from surviving participants. Some research has been done on propaganda, church organizations and the war, freedom of speech, the conscientious objector, journalism, etc., and some important biographical studies have been published. The social aspects of the war, however, offer many opportunities for study, as suggested, for example, in Volume V of Mark Sullivan's *Our Times*. The official printed sources of the states contain valuable data which may serve as a clue to manuscript materials preserved through the war records activity described above. A comprehensive bibliography of the United States in World War I, within certain common-sense limits, would be extremely useful to the scholar in his research and to the archivist in his study of war records, past and present.

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<sup>50</sup> *Indiana Mag. Hist.*, XVIII (1922), 381.

<sup>51</sup> *Minnesota Hist. Bull.*, III, 103-04.

\* \* \* \* *Reviews of Books* \* \* \* \*

## General History

HISTORY AND ITS NEIGHBORS. By *Edward Maslin Hulme*, Professor of History, Emeritus, Stanford University. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1942. Pp. 197. \$2.00.)

IN keeping with the title of this book the author has divided his work into two parts, to each of which he has given proper weight and proportion. Part one (124 pages) is devoted to a penetrating analysis of historical methodology. Here one travels over familiar ground—sources, external and internal criticism, and all the well-known techniques are presented—but not in the usual way. Instead of laboring the argument with detailed illustrations, so overpowering in erudition and confusing to the young student, Dr. Hulme has left the woods and trees behind and has led the reader into the open field of research. Principles and skills are not ignored, but they are viewed as the means to an end and not as the end in themselves. Nor does he give much attention to the moot question “Is history a science?” Thoroughness and accuracy, we are told, should be the aim of every scholar, and in this respect the historian is a scientist. But to talk “of history in any possible form as a science is a mere confusion of words and thoughts.”

Those who in past years were required to wade through the ponderous pages of Bernheim's *Lehrbuch* or even the less heavy work of Langlois and Seignobos will surely envy the opportunity now presented to beginners of *enjoying* the task of mastering the essentials of historical methodology. For Dr. Hulme practices what he preaches, and in the portrayal of his thesis he lives up to the standard that history is more an art than a science. “Brickmakers,” he writes, “are necessary; but even more necessary for an edifice of history is an architect. The collection of material is the beginning and not the end of the historian's task.” Moreover, in respect to the collection of material the author firmly believes that history should not be a dull slave to the past. One should review the past for the sake of the present and guidance for the future. In other words, study the thoughts and deeds of yesterday that are of present interest and value. This restriction should not be interpreted in a mean or narrow manner. And, although the author does not express it in so many words, he most certainly conveys the idea that each age should and will examine the past to meet its own needs, wants, and aspirations. Beyond that the historian should not go, for, while history is “the living past,” much of the latter is sheer debris and void of meaning. There may be some who will sharply express an opposite opinion, though the reviewer applauds the intelligence and courage of the author who argues that history should let “the dead past bury its dead.”

Part two (60 pages) of this stimulating volume tells of the "Neighbors of History." Here one finds many helpful suggestions as to how the historian may profit from the experience and contribution of geology, biology, anthropology, the social sciences, and other allied fields. Teachers of historical methodology will find it decidedly worth while to let their students explore this section of the book. Finally, it may be noted that the volume closes with a selected list of references and a brief index.

*Syracuse University*

W. FREEMAN GALPIN

MINOR HISTORICAL WRITINGS AND OTHER ESSAYS. By *Henry Charles Lea*. Edited by *Arthur C. Howland*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1942. Pp. ix, 414. \$3.50.)

MORE than a generation has passed since Henry C. Lea ended his historical labors, but the intervening years have only served to establish his reputation as one of the great historians of our time. These assembled writings of his are therefore all the more welcome, even though only one of the essays in this little volume, "Witch Persecutions in Transalpine Europe," has not been previously published. This is prefaced with an introduction by George L. Burr describing the circumstances of its composition. The other articles include "all of his minor historical writings not later incorporated in his larger works" together with a miscellany of selected book reviews, discussions of public questions, and two youthful papers on scientific subjects. These articles were published at various times over the whole long period of Lea's productivity, 1841-1909, most of them in periodicals not now easily accessible to the interested readers. Hence even the previously published articles also will be new to most students of Lea's work.

The editor, Arthur C. Howland, has not only discharged the normal duties of his office but has also indicated the relation of the material to Lea's larger writings and, indeed, to the life of the author. These articles therefore illustrate, more vividly than any objective biography, the wide range of Lea's interests and activities. Publisher and businessman by vocation, he was also a keen student of literature, critical and creative, and a public-spirited citizen actively interested in municipal, state, and national affairs. Few persons familiar with his larger works would suspect Lea to have been the master of satire revealed in the "Bible View of Polygamy," though they may be less surprised by his skill as a controversialist—an aptitude well exemplified in the essay entitled "Catholicism and Politics." This series of essays will also cause many to realize for the first time how deep and genuine was his early interest in science, a field which might well have become his chief avocation had not illness prevented him from continuing it. But the reader who is curious to sample the full range of Lea's intellectual interests will no doubt be disappointed that the editor did not include any of the purely literary articles, to some twenty of which he alludes in the foreword.

Lea's interest in the public affairs of his day has been mentioned in nearly all

the biographical sketches which his death occasioned. The present volume of studies may, however, startle others besides the reviewer to a fuller realization of how deeply his writings were affected by that concern, which seems to be somewhat at variance with the general tenor of his presidential address—here reprinted—before the American Historical Association in 1903. In this Lea took issue with Lord Acton's insistence upon the ethical as the highest function of the historian, but a careful reader will nevertheless notice a contrary point of view expressed in the article on "Spain's Indian Policy." In forwarding this article to the editor of the *Yale Review* in 1899, Lea described the subject as one "which I found full of interest and not without some lessons which might be profitably pondered by our people just now, if we are to inherit the Spanish colonies." The article itself closes with the reflection: "The contrast between the kindness which reigned at Madrid and the oppression which prevailed throughout the colonies illustrates the uselessness of legislation when its execution is committed to defective and corrupt administration." These statements raise a question as to the extent to which even his larger works were animated by a desire to point out to those entrusted with the conduct of public affairs "the uselessness of legislation [and edicts] when its execution is committed to defective and corrupt administration." In general, one wonders, as one reads these papers, whether after all the two friends, Lord Acton and Lea, were actually as far apart as the latter's "Ethical Values in History" would seem to indicate.

This work is an interesting and essential addition to any collection of Lea's writings.

*University of Minnesota*

A. C. KREY

FRANCIS PARKMAN: HEROIC HISTORIAN. By *Mason Wade*. (New York: Viking Press. 1942. Pp. xiii, 466. \$4.50.)

OF how many famous men's biographies could 287 large, well-filled pages be devoted to the first twenty-three years of their lives? In this book there is a very definite division, as there was in Parkman's life, between those first twenty-three years and the remaining forty-seven, which require only 161 pages of the biography. Action, energy, enthusiasm, physical courage, and the will to be and to do fill the first section. Endurance, moral and intellectual courage, and extraordinary patience constitute the second. These almost antithetical parts are knit together into one unique whole by the plan for Parkman's life, which at an almost unbelievably tender age formed itself into the guiding principle of his existence.

That plan was that he should be the historian of the pre-Revolutionary story of the North American wilderness. Indians, explorers, fur traders, soldiers, and missionaries were to be the chief characters of his books. Hence his fascinating expeditions into the wildernesses to study these persons and their surroundings at first hand, in his native Massachusetts during his teens; then in the White Moun-



tains, Vermont, New York, and Maine; and finally in Canada, the Great Lakes area, and the Great West. They were never mere recreational jaunts, though apparently such; to him they were a definite preparatory course of study for the writing of his *chef d'oeuvre*. Fortunately he spent those early years to such advantage that in the darkness which descended upon his prime he could rely on his memory for details of countryside, Indian life, flora and fauna, and pioneer characters with which to vitalize his historical writing. To have written those masterpieces at all would be a credit to any man; to have written them through others' eyes and fingers, a few sentences a day or a week, with insomnia and a mysterious nervous affliction as an additional handicap, seems almost incredible. No wonder Mr. Wade uses the epithet "heroic historian" to characterize Parkman.

Despite the very obvious division of the book into two dissimilar parts, Mr. Wade has written a superb biography of this first truly American historian. Undoubtedly the first part is the author's chief contribution, largely because Parkman's own diaries furnished the data for the early years. The author has used them so skillfully that he has portrayed a young man whom no reader will ever forget.

The second part of the book, though lacking the color and incident of the first portion, has its own charm. It is difficult to create suspense and sustained interest by describing the details of writing such books as Parkman's classics; but one can arouse sympathy and admiration, as the author surely does, for writing books under the handicaps that Parkman bore with such fortitude; and one can discuss, with such evident appreciation as this author reveals, the topic of a Protestant historian's competence to write understandingly of French Canada's part in North American history.

Indeed, the author reveals such warmth of sympathy, such complete understanding, and such ripeness of judgment for his hero historian that it is hard to believe what he constantly reminds the reader, that he himself is a Catholic and frequently at variance with the views of Parkman the Puritan, the Brahmin, the patrician.

Historians may criticize the biography for stressing so little the actual books produced by Parkman. Two chapters only go to them—his materials, his methods, his faults and virtues as a historian, and so forth. The reviewer feels that any shortcoming in that respect is more than counterbalanced by the author's clear-cut recognition that Parkman's view was correct—that one must first be a vibrant human being thrilling to the drama of history, expressing one's scholarship through the physical effort of studying regions and conditions at first hand, finding one's data in humanity and nature as well as in books and manuscripts, before one can pretend to write history that is of the first order.

*Minnesota Historical Society*

GRACE LEE NUTE

WILLARD GIBBS. By *Muriel Rukeyser*. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1942. Pp. xi, 465. \$3.50.)

THE material of this book falls into four major divisions: the family and personal life of Willard Gibbs, his scientific work and its reception, the industrial consequences of that work, and the American setting that provided the background of the Gibbs career. The approach of the author to her subject, suggested in the initial chapter entitled "On Presumption," is the theory that, because both the poet and the theoretical scientist contribute to civilization through creative imagination, there is a kinship between them. It is a good point; in the creative imagination science and the humanities find their common origin. Miss Rukeyser's idea is worth emphasizing in the middle period of the twentieth century when a tendency to excessive specialization emphasizes diversity in intellectual disciplines rather than the ultimate unity in the processes of human thought and apprehension.

The author's problem, as she began her work, was to reconstruct the life and personality of a quiet and modest man whose outward career was singularly uneventful but whose achievements in the realm of thought were so momentous as to give him rank with Newton. Gibbs must have experienced the excitement of an explorer who after a hard climb to a high lookout beholds in panorama before him through dissolving mists a vast and rich domain which no man has seen before. Miss Rukeyser has attempted with some success to re-create this excitement. She says of his great paper "The Equilibrium of Heterogeneous Substances":

The principles it sets in view have opened up a world of process and speculation to which the door itself has barely been touched. Gibbs was one of those rare intellects which tower over art, over many kinds of conquest, as over science, from whom the human race receives its pictures of the world, and one such picture is contained in this paper.

The passage borders on rhapsody, easily forgiven when evoked by such a creative achievement as that of Gibbs. The sentences also suggest the mood of much of the book.

In Gibbs, creative imagination worked under the iron discipline of mathematical logic. All scholarship requires discipline. Discipline does not distinguish the present work. The present reviewer makes no attempt to evaluate the Rukeyser exposition of Gibbs's science or his significance for industry: that appraisal may be found in the reviews in scientific journals by competent scientists. The present discussion deals with only two divisions of the work: the personal life of Willard Gibbs and his American setting. The book, when the American background is considered, is a dazzling façade concealing a lack of substance within. The author has much to say about the antithesis of John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson and of Melville and Hawthorne. She has a climactic chapter entitled "Three Masters: Melville, Whitman, Gibbs." Henry Adams and William

James appear much in her paragraphs. Why the author omitted from the list of Gibbs's great creative contemporaries Winslow Homer, John La Farge, and Louis Sullivan is unexplained. They are no more irrelevant than Melville and Whitman. The book pretends to set forth an important social theory. The reviewer cannot discover in the volume any important contribution either to theory or to the understanding of the American scene.

The author, partly because of the difficulties of her task, strives for the sensational. It is impossible to make so simple an outward life as that of Gibbs sufficiently interesting to command any large numbers of readers. It is essentially sensationalism to set the modest Gibbs in the galaxy she has chosen; it is also sensationalism to affirm as elements of the character of her hero hesitancy bordering on timorousness and a long loneliness. Bringing in another literary contemporary, of whom probably Gibbs never heard, Miss Rukeyser remarks: "Her [Emily Dickinson's] eager loneliness, her wish for death and burial, make her very close to Gibbs." In another place the author adds: "We come to this still man with his touch of richness and death on the world." A lonely man, with a wish for death and burial, moving hesitantly forward in a mad materialistic world is exciting. The excitement is enhanced by the fact that the same world rejected Melville and Whitman—though it did not reject Homer, La Farge, or Sullivan. Such romantic and irresponsible writing does grave injustice to a great American. Miss Rukeyser's book may well be the beginning of a Gibbs legend.

To such criticisms the author might well retort:

Why have not the students of the history of American civilization given us a portrait of this great figure? More than that of most Americans his work made the twentieth century what it is. The historian prides himself on discovering and evaluating the significant in social change. Such an omission is a singular lacuna in American historical scholarship.

To such a charge the guild could only enter the plea *nolle contendere*. Miss Rukeyser's distinction is that she has had the courage to undertake the hard task (namely, that of presenting Gibbs and the significance of his work) from which the trained historical scholars have drawn back. And she has swept their alibis aside by reminding them of the ultimate unity in the creative imagination of science and the humanities.

Yale University

RALPH H. GABRIEL

ANDREW D. WHITE AND THE MODERN UNIVERSITY. By *Walter P. Rogers*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1942. Pp. ix, 259. \$2.50.)

THE review of this book should undoubtedly have been assigned to some outstanding scholar in the field of the history of higher education in America. But this is a field little cultivated in America despite excellent volumes concentrating on some one institution. In default of an indicated choice among possible re-

viewers it is written by one who never knew Andrew D. White personally and never had anything but a speaking acquaintance with Cornell University, but by one who owes a great debt to President White, based on his almost scholarly writings and his exasperated militancy in behalf of the causes, educational or civic, that he espoused. That debt was partly paid by initiating what Mr. White made permanent, a history prize at his alma mater bearing his name. It would be more fully paid if the writer could agree with the author's last paragraph, which ends, after summarizing educational changes in college curricula since 1870, with the sentence, "This is the legacy of Andrew D. White to the twentieth century." With the best will in the world the reviewer cannot underwrite that judgment either on the basis of his own knowledge or the evidence this volume presents when carefully read. Education has had its germinative thinkers from Plato to John Dewey, but it has had few who combined a profound and revolutionizing philosophy of education with the administrative ability to embody their ideas in a great university whose name led all the rest even for two decades in America. White was anything but a philosopher and by his own statement disliked every phase of university administration, which is not an unhealthy state of mind for the university itself. Heaven help the university with a president who revels in the details that keep a university going but leave no time for determining the direction in which it is headed.

Do not misunderstand me. This is a good book. Even if it might have been better, it has its place in the small number of studies in its field. This transition period in higher education after the Civil War needs more like it, and back of them stands the figure of Henry Tappan of Michigan. Within a year (1868-69) three great educational leaders were inaugurated as university presidents and outlined their ideas in inaugural addresses at institutions they were founding or re-founding: Eliot at Harvard, White at Cornell, and Folwell (unmentioned in the volume) at Minnesota. A few years later (1872) Gilman became president of California, but like Folwell was too far on the cultural frontier until he started Johns Hopkins in 1876. It is interesting to compare their utterances. Folwell, a voice on the edge of the wilderness, had the greatest vision and like Tappan was in trouble as an administrator too far ahead of his times but outlived them and at ninety-seven saw a goodly part, but not all, of his dreams realized. Gilman by limitation to a timely objective is secure in his place. Eliot, the least scholarly but with the most driving force and the most smoothly functioning mind, and working on three levels, secondary, college, and graduate and professional, gathered the most laurels. He did not, like White, Folwell, and Gilman, write his ideas on a blank sheet by founding an institution. He remade an ancient college into a modern university.

Andrew D. White joined Ezra Cornell in building a great university that was both endowed and state supported in an area close to the heartland of denominationally controlled higher education. The institution and the man were imme-

diately under fire. This gave White, a man of wealth, conservative in his social views, a chance to fight vigorously as an educational radical—and he enjoyed a scrap with the educational obscurantism of his day. He fought the sectarian's and classicist's control of the curriculum in its weakening stronghold. This clash, extending over a decade after Cornell was founded, put the man and the institution in the forefront. Its location, neither Eastern nor Western, and its dual character through private and public support gave White a role congenial to his temperament. He played it well and deserves an even more extended biographical treatment than this volume can give. He deserves a place among educational leaders even though a broader comparative study would not show him so great an innovator as the author thinks. Mr. Rogers has broken ground by painstaking research on the central subject of such a biography. If he pursues the topic further he should seek to capture the personality of the man and bring him face to face with an audience that did not know him in the flesh.

G. S. F.

PLANS FOR WORLD PEACE THROUGH SIX CENTURIES. By *Sylvester John Hemleben*, Head of the Department of History and Social Studies, School of Education, Fordham University. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1942. Pp. xiv, 227. \$2.50.)

At a time when the world finds itself engaged in the most destructive war in history it is not surprising that the output of peace literature should be on the increase. The famous treatise of the Abbé de Saint-Pierre appeared in its two-volume edition in 1713, the year that the disastrous wars of Louis XIV came to a close at Utrecht; the Holy Alliance of Alexander I was published in September, 1815, at a moment of high hope in ridding Europe of the Napoleonic scourge; and the Covenant of the League of Nations was unanimously adopted on April 28, 1919, two months in advance of the signing of the treaty which was to end wars for all time. Wars do quite naturally give birth to plans for peace, and the present hour is witnessing the first crop of schemes and devices which thoughtful men are now framing for the peace which is to come.

Professor Hemleben's volume presents the reader with no new remedy for this very old human disease. Rather, it is a bird's eye view of projects envisioned and composed from the day when Pierre Dubois wrote his *De Recuperatione Terre Sancte*, sometime between 1305 and 1307, and the adoption of the League of Nations Covenant in 1919. Within the compass of 194 pages the author makes a rapid survey of the leading plans devised for world peace and gives a succinct account of their principal provisions. He allows himself little room for comment or analysis—in fact too little to the mind of this reviewer. One should like to have seen his closing chapter of "Reflections" greatly lengthened for a critique of these various peace plans against the historical background of the period in which

they were produced. However, as a narrative which embodies the main essentials of the peace proposals of these six centuries, the work is of value and it should prove of worth to those who are interested in a comparative study of the schemes previously projected for the peace of the world.

The study is carefully documented and the footnote references reveal wide reading. Occasionally, however, the reader's curiosity is not satisfied by reference to a footnote which does not enlarge upon such an interesting speculation as, for example, that Henry IV's Grand Design "was perhaps the basis of Alexander's idea for a holy alliance" (p. 40), or that the Holy Alliance of Alexander "perhaps motivated Nicholas II to call the first international peace conference at The Hague in 1899" (p. 102). Likewise the reader has to await the last two pages before there is a mention of the necessity of the moral law as basic to the peaceful relations between states. This point should have been stressed in narrating the failure of practically all the peace plans spoken of by Professor Hemleben throughout his preceding four chapters. In that connection it is strange to find Professor Hemleben citing Marriott without comment to the effect that Alexander I's Holy Alliance was "the only practical attempt ever made to apply the principles of Christianity to the regulation of international politics" (p. 102).

The volume is provided with an index and an extensive bibliography of peace literature which renders the bibliographical note in the introduction (p. xiii) somewhat superfluous. In the main Professor Hemleben has produced a serviceable study which can, if intelligently read, make the contribution for which the author modestly hopes in his preface.

*Catholic University of America*

JOHN TRACY ELLIS

DEMOCRATIC IDEALS AND REALITY: A STUDY IN THE POLITICS OF RECONSTRUCTION. By the Right Honourable Sir *Halford J. Mackinder*. Introduction by Edward Mead Earle. Foreword by Major George Fielding Eliot. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1942. Pp. xxvi, 219. \$1.90.)

THE *American Historical Review* has never before, perhaps, accorded a single volume—a slender one at that—the recognition implicit in two reviews presented two decades apart. This book first appeared in 1919 and was discussed by Frederick J. Teggart in the January, 1920, issue. In 1942 the book reappeared without alteration of the main text, slightly enlarged by addition of a brief note to the re-issue by the author and by the foreword and introduction. This raises the question: why should *Democratic Ideals and Reality* be reissued and re-reviewed?

The answer is found in the fact that this book about the dynamics of history has itself proved a dynamic force. Karl Haushofer, the high priest of German "geopolitics," on which the Hitlerian conquests were projected, has stressed Mackinder in making his acknowledgments of the sources of his ideas. Mr. Teggart, writing as a true democrat in the hopeful days of the newborn League



of Nations, found the book important to all students of history and politics but regretted that instead of "making a permanent contribution to knowledge" Mackinder employed his geographical and political data "in support of a political philosophy that appears to be out of harmony with the most hopeful tendencies of our times" (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXV, 259). A generation later Mr. Earle opines that Mackinder has had no less historic influence than Mahan and is the more important of the two for understanding "the political dynamics of our world" (*Democratic Ideals and Reality*, p. xxi). Sir Halford, for his part, has been led, by long study of geography and politics, to conclude that democracies must learn to think of resources and manpower in strategic terms or they cannot survive. So, after the previous war and during that of the present, he has undertaken to improve the chances of a permanent peace along democratic lines by pointing out the forces he considers likely to undermine democracy.

Broad-based landpower, aided by technological advance, is likely to be able to outflank seapower, according to Mackinder; and the landpower with the broadest base would be that which won control of both East Europe and the wide, adjoining area of Asia, which he labels the "Heartland."

"Who rules East Europe commands the Heartland  
Who rules the Heartland commands the World-Island  
Who rules the World-Island commands the World" (p. 150).

The World-Island is defined as Europe, Asia, and Africa, which, with the closely adjacent islands, altogether includes fifteen sixteenths of the world's population. The unlettered and submissive qualities of the populations of the Heartland must make its government autocratic; and, once it is united as a single power, democracies on the outer borders of Europe and on the lesser "island" of the Americas could not survive. Ergo, the democracies must forestall single control of the Heartland. Two things they must do particularly. They must establish between Russia and Germany a middle tier of seven, permanent, independent states. They must gradually abandon extreme specialization and imperialism, with their dependence on control of world markets, and must substitute a balanced self-sufficiency in each community and peaceful federation as between communities. Thereby would the opportunity for self-development at home divert the ambitious from schemes of conquest abroad. Thereby could be preserved that steady production which is the fundamental reality on which civilization rests. By thus utilizing the realities could they preserve the ideal of democratic self-control.

The present violent disagreement among historians and political scientists over Mackinder and geopolitics varies somewhat with the fortunes of war. The scoffers assert that natural human resistance to outside control, the weakness of sheer bigness, and the superior mechanical ability fostered among the democracies permanently obstruct global conquest; an outstanding denial of geopolitical threat has just appeared in Hans Weigert's *Generals and Geographers: The Twilight of*

*Geopolitics.* On the other hand, those who take geopolitics and Mackinder seriously see each assault upon democracy—from Philip II through Louis XIV, Napoleon, William Hohenzollern, and Hitler—coming nearer to success. Mackinder sympathetically observes, “Democracy refuses to think strategically unless and until compelled to do so for purposes of defense. . . . Democracy implies rule by consent of the average citizen, who does not view things from the hilltops, for he must be at his work in the fertile plains” (pp. 24, 25).

Does this, then, place a special responsibility on the historians?

*Swarthmore, Pennsylvania*

JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS

#### BARRIERS DOWN: THE STORY OF THE NEWS AGENCY EPOCH.

By *Kent Cooper*. (New York: Farrar and Rinehart. 1942. Pp. x, 324. \$3.00.)

THE barriers, in Mr. Cooper's meaning, are those against the free flow of unbiased news throughout the world. But the barriers are not down today, nor is he able to show that his own long and sturdy fight to break through them had more than brief success, already brushed aside by the impact of the second World War. What he has done, however, is to pose again the great problem of open and practical news channels left unsolved by the peace treaty makers of the first World War. He sees that the new peacemakers must find the answer if the nations are to be assured of full, friendly, and undistorted exchange of news.

The first World War shaped Mr. Cooper's career. As a junior executive of the Associated Press there came to his desk in 1914 a cable from the newspaper *La Nacion* at Buenos Aires, asking for the daily texts of German official communiqués. Here, seemingly, was the chance to get a new client. He went to Melville Stone, founder and head of the A.P., to get permission to start the service. Then he learned that the A.P. was bound by contract with the Havas news agency of France not to go into South America. The same restrictions held, through Reuters, for the major part of the British Empire.

In this instance the United Press, young and struggling but free from international contracts, met *La Nacion's* request. Havas, not liking this outcome, granted an exception to the A.P. for a Buenos Aires service. More important, the A.P. and the U.P. did not seize upon this situation as an excuse for cut-throat competition with each other in South America but began to work together in opposing the European news agency monopolies.

In the A.P. effort to break away from the bonds of Reuters and Havas, Cooper continued to be the driving force. In 1925 he became the general manager of the A.P., and in 1927 the organization announced that it meant to terminate the “four-party treaty”—A.P., Reuters, Havas, and Wolff—unless it were revised.

It was not until 1934 that a new contract was reached, giving the A.P. a free hand “to serve newspapers and news agencies wherever it chose.” Reuters, before agreeing, put up a hard fight. Quickly it offered the United Press the contract

position the A.P. had held. To the honor of the American standard of news handling the U.P. did not listen. Instead, early in 1934, the A.P. and the U.P. signed a pact not to make a contract with any European agency to the exclusion of the other nor to have relations with any agency which refused to serve them both.

Now the future for free news promised well, Mr. Cooper was convinced. Yet, writing in 1942, he was realist enough to comprehend that the promise had not been fulfilled and that a new start will have to be made. He realizes, although reluctantly, that aid from the larger powers of government also will be necessary. He perceives, too, that wars themselves have brought our government into the news picture. In both the first and the present World Wars, he admits, government was obliged to distribute its news because the news agencies were not adequate for the work. In his words, "Wilson was left to his own devices in the spreading of American propaganda abroad. His 'Committee on Public Information' under George Creel was created to do the job." As example of the committee's activity he cited the establishment of a news service to China, distributing to nearly three hundred vernacular papers a report over the wireless. In the second World War the "Office of War Information" of the government carries on the function of giving American news to all the world.

It is evident that channels of communication have been widened by the government's operations. Seeing this fact, it is natural for Mr. Cooper to wonder how these channels best can be utilized after the war. He advances no concrete plan, however, contenting himself with the generality that any peace should "guarantee freedom of the press throughout the world as we know it." Under these circumstances may one also be permitted to wonder if presently the news agencies will not ask the government to bear part of the cost of providing channels so that the word rates of news can be much lowered. Such could be the direction of Mr. Cooper's not fully expressed desire.

*New York City*

EDGAR G. SISSON

NEWPORT TOWER. By *Philip Ainsworth Means*. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1942. Pp. xxi, 344. \$5.00.)

UNTIL a more comprehensive demonstration of the techniques of special pleading comes to hand, the treatise of Philip Ainsworth Means on the Newport Tower will be a "must" in classrooms where college students are inducted into the art of historical exposition. It has everything about nothing. Starting with an object of no apparent use or importance, about which a succession of ill-informed imaginations have cast a spell of visionary grandeur, Mr. Means has envisioned a new paragraph for future writers of American history manuals. He provides a filling for the awkward gap between Leif Ericsson and Christopher Columbus.

Mr. Means grew interested in the tower after reading a paper by Dr. F. J. Allen, an Englishman who had "visited to [*sic*] the Newport Tower" in 1880,

and subsequently Mr. Means began photographing all the round churches he could find in Europe. He found nothing new to connect Leif Ericsson with Newport, but European travel furnished him with an unspoiled lead. When King Magnus the Barefoot of Norway died in 1103, things happened according to custom: one of his sons took the throne; another died as soon as he was old enough to take an interest in things; Sigurd, the third son, went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem "fired by his own religious zeal," according to Mr. Means, who worships at the shrine of independent thinking. In the Holy Land the pilgrims were profoundly impressed by the round Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Hurrying home overland it stands to reason that the travelers would have stopped to examine all the other round churches on their way. When King Sigurd had Eric Gnipsson made bishop of Greenland in 1112, this must mean that the two had knelt together in the round church at Jerusalem. There is no telling who will be the next college professor to join the most erudite of columnists on the Means's bandwagon to proclaim his conversion to a belief in "the fairness, honesty, and decent humility of one who has undergone an intellectual experience."

Mr. Means then develops the possibility that Bishop Eric made one or perhaps two trips to Greenland, probably with the intent of strengthening the Christianity already existing in Vinland. "In view of this possibility it is a fair conjecture that the missionary Bishop Eric built in Vinland a modest little church, inspired by those which he had seen . . . even in the Holy Land." Mr. Means gives as proof that "Vinland was still a 'going concern'" the much-discussed Kensington Rune Stone and declares without apology, "the Kensington inscription *is* authentic as of 1362." And Mr. Means arrives at this final conclusion: "I suggest the existence of a long-lasting Norse settlement in America. I further suggest that the round church at Newport was one of its holiest places."

Mr. Means's treatise gets a third of its bulk from restatements of the opinions of earlier writers, with characterizations that tell the side of the Norsemen question taken by each writer. Palfrey is "superficially plausible"; Bancroft has "a closed mind"; Winsor displayed "intellectual laziness"; John Fiske is "a great historian without thinking independently"; Brigham, "learned and valued," is a unique exception to the rule that those who do not agree must be excoriated.

The author gives chapters to "Some Truths—Unpalatable to Arnoldists" and "Coffin Nails for the Arnold Theory." The "Arnoldists," for whom he conserves his most scathing contempt, are those who have failed to perceive that when Governor Benedict Arnold in 1677 wrote in his will "my Stone-built Wind-Milln," he meant that he had put the windmill on top of an ancient stone tower that had long stood on his land. Mr. Means glosses the will in the true spirit of medieval scholarship by producing a letter from the governor to his wife begging her to "let no one start any rumor, centuries hence, that I built yon olde stone Tower in which I have of late contrived my Wind-Milln."

There is no unmistakable proof that Governor Arnold built his stone mill

shortly after 1675, when a storm destroyed the only mill in town. The "Arnoldists" who persist in thinking that this is the reasonable interpretation of the statement in his will are sprayed by Mr. Means with a notable assortment of vituperation. "Lie" occurs a score of times and "false" as often; other offenders are decorated with "a fabric whose warp is folly and whose weft is prejudice" or "dead as mutton," as well as baseless, preposterous, gullible or mendacious, absurd, fantastic, fraud, rubbish, lost in the fog, inconceivable, vague and uninformed, nonsense, nonsensical, exploded. These are some of the comments that illuminate the author's "fairness, honesty, and decent humility."

*Charles River, Massachusetts*

GEORGE P. WINSHIP

THE GAEL FARES FORTH: THE ROMANTIC STORY OF WAIPU AND HER SISTER SETTLEMENTS. By *N. R. McKenzie*. With an Introduction by the Rt. Hon. Peter Fraser, Prime Minister of New Zealand. (Wellington, New Zealand: Whitcombe and Tombs. 1942. Pp. xi, 320. 15s.)

IN 1817 Norman McLeod led a group of Scottish Highlanders to Nova Scotia. They were for the most part men of substance and standing. The "Highland Clearances" after Culloden were not the direct cause of their migration, but the economic difficulties of the time were doubtless a contributing factor. McLeod was a graduate of Aberdeen, trained for the ministry; but the Established church of Scotland was at a low ebb, and McLeod did not seek at home the ordination which he later accepted from an American Presbytery. Acceptance was in fact possible only in absentia for such a resolute and independent spirit. He said himself that he could never brook ecclesiastical discipline.

Having led substantial numbers of his clansmen first to Pictou and then to St. Ann's, he ministered and taught, while setting an example of frugal, industrious, and efficient farming. The Highlanders left their mark on Nova Scotia, in its standards of education as in its economic efficiency. But after thirty years a son of McLeod sent word of fresh opportunity in Australia. After much deliberation and calculation Norman McLeod, though no longer young, set forth again and many of his more substantial people followed their patriarch. They built their own ships (one of them only 107 tons), rigged, and equipped them for the long voyage round the Cape. South Australia they found already too occupied for their taste. Melbourne, in the throes of the first gold-rush boom, gave them opportunities of employment; but between 1851 and 1856 six shiploads and numerous stragglers came finally to settle at Waipu, in the peninsula just north of Auckland, New Zealand.

The tale of this Highland community, many of the people at first speaking only the Gaelic, is a tale of sober virtues and endurance. New Zealand has many such stories of high-principled, hard-working group settlements held together by religious teaching and neighborhood ties. The Waipu settlers carved farms out

of the virgin kauri forest, exploited the timber and kauri gum, and for a time built ships. Gradually they became men of substance and power as they had always been men of integrity. Out of this little community have come many of New Zealand's famous men, but in the long list men of the sea, the church, and the school are pre-eminent.

The volume in which Mr. McKenzie tells this story of Highland courage and fortitude is a work of filial piety. The author is himself a son of Waipu, a descendant of the original immigrants, and, like his father, a teacher of distinction. He has chosen to let the story tell itself in large part from letters, records, and reminiscences. The volume that results will be cherished on many a family shelf; but even for the outsider it is a fine tale, soberly told in the spirit of the men and women whose adventures it records. There are no purple passages of eulogy or exaggeration; adjectives are sparingly used; but a quiet, justified pride runs through the book. These were the men and women who made the British Commonwealth the enduring and stable organism it is today, and their descendants do right to be proud of them and to honor their memory.

There is a small slip on page 133, where the depreciation of the New Zealand exchange is given as 25 instead of 20 per cent, a common error derived from the method of quoting the rate as £125 N.Z. to £100 stg., but one against which readers unfamiliar with the British currencies ought perhaps to be warned.

New York City

J. B. CONDLIFFE

THE NEAR EAST: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS. By Count *Carlo Sforza*, Former Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs; *H. A. R. Gibb*, Laudian Professor of Arabic, Oxford University; *Salo W. Baron*, Professor of Jewish History, Literature, and Institutions, Columbia University; *Charles K. Webster*, Professor of International History, London School of Economics; *Quincy Wright*, Professor of International Law, University of Chicago. *Philip W. Ireland*, Editor. [Lectures on the Harris Foundation, 1942.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1942. Pp. xiv, 266. \$2.50.)

THIS book is a timely and valuable contribution in view of the fact that the Near East is once more playing its historical strategic role in a global war.

Count Sforza presents several enlightening anecdotes from his long diplomatic career. He "pulls no punches" in his condemnation of the policy adopted by the Western powers in the Near East and stresses the point that in spite of that policy an Arab awakening in all spheres of life is already on the march. Unfortunately the materials of this lecture suffer from a lack of integration.

In his first lecture Professor Gibb succeeds in presenting, with penetrating insight, an analysis of the major trends of social change in the Near East. His contrast of social change in Turkey with that among the Arabs is illuminating, and so is his discussion of the factors responsible for the "uneven distribution"



of social changes in that area. In his second lecture, "The Future for Arab Unity," Professor Gibb recognizes the existence of regional differences in the Arab world, yet emphasizes the greater unity underlying them. He believes in the future development of an Arab nation in co-operation with the United Nations, probably taking the form of regional organization as a starting base for a later federation.

Professor Baron deals with the Palestine controversy. According to him the basic claim of the Arabs rests on their long settlement there. On the other hand, he states, the Jews, among other claims, have an equally valid historical one. After revealing the inadequate handling of the problem to date, Professor Baron presents a tentative solution, which is substantially in agreement with that of Professor Gibb.

Professor Webster presents a thorough discussion of British imperial policy and shows how it is changing under the impact of war. He points out that the application of the principles of self-determination and democracy was hindered by imperial officials who did not have much faith in them. He defends British policy in the Near East on the ground that it was the best possible under the circumstances.

Professor Wright gives a comprehensive and masterly analysis of future prospects for the Near East, discussing four pertinent factors that hold its destiny. Under the first factor the author includes outcome of the present struggle, the spirit of nationalism, and religion. By the second factor he refers to the basic and scientific liberal trends of Western civilization, which he believes have been operative in the Near East and will become increasingly so. Under the third factor a review is made of the beginnings and development of international institutions and principles and the extent to which they have been and may be applied in the Near East. Finally, the author analyzes, point by point, the possible effects of the Atlantic Charter as applied to the Arabs and neighboring peoples.

The volume as a whole is, within its obvious limits, to be commended to both layman and specialist.

*University of Minnesota*

AFIF I. TANNOUS

**AISHAH: THE BELOVED OF MOHAMMED.** By *Nabia Abbott*, Assistant Professor of Islamic Studies, the Oriental Institute, the University of Chicago. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1942. Pp. xiii, 230. \$2.50.)

This is the first biography in English of the first lady of Islam. It is fitting that it should come from the pen of a scholar who is herself a lady. Professor Abbott's painstaking efforts have resulted in a readable story of a very colorful personality. It is, however, clear that the book was not intended for specialists, since it offers no new fact or novel interpretation. It does, nevertheless, succeed

in reconstructing from an enormous mass of material the life story of Aishah, the beloved wife of Mohammed.

The book falls naturally into three parts. The first treats of Aishah as the favorite wife of Mohammed and ends with the death of the prophet. A vivid picture of Mohammed's harem is painted. Too much of the atmosphere of a modern university, with its faculty rivalries and the jealousies of faculty wives, seems to dominate the mind of the author and, in turn, leaves its mark upon her reconstruction and interpretation of life among the early Moslem community of Medina. The second part dwells upon the life of Aishah from the death of Mohammed to the time of her retirement from public life following the Battle of the Camel. This is the most fruitful period in the life of this fascinating woman; likewise it is the best part of the book. The third deals with Aishah's remaining years until her death in A.D. 678, forty-six years after the death of her husband. Far from being a period of retirement, this period finds Aishah still intriguing, though indeed she now resembles the superannuated moving-picture star.

As a work of biography this book is indeed excellent despite the tendency of the author to accept as history the greater part of the hadith. As a book designed for the cultured laymen it suffers from too many proper names. It therefore becomes a little tiresome. This, however, does not diminish the value of the work or the painstaking efforts of the author in diving into the sea of Moslem tradition and salvaging for the readers a picture of a fascinating woman, intensely human. The impression which lingers in the mind of the reader is that of an Aishah who was a pampered child, a petulant wife, and a frustrated widow. It is a pity Aishah did not die in the Battle of the Camel.

Princeton University

NABIH AMIN FARIS

## Ancient and Medieval History

EXCAVATIONS AT DEIR EL BAHRI, 1911-1931. By *H. E. Winlock*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1942. Pp. xi, 235. \$5.00.)

THE material in this book is a reprint, with some re-editing, of reports of these excavations which appeared in the *Bulletin* of the Metropolitan Museum of Art during the course of the excavations from 1911 to 1931. The reasons for reprinting these reports are set forth in the preface. The *Bulletin* is not generally available to the ordinary public; the material is scattered throughout nearly thirty years' issues of the *Bulletin*; some improvements have been made in the text, such as the modernized spelling of Egyptian names, the correction of errors, and the

elimination of repetitions made necessary by the serial publication of the reports.

In the first place the reviewer is called upon to determine to what extent the reasons for republication are sound. It seems doubtful that any considerable number of the "ordinary public" will read the reports even in this improved form. For, although they are well written, with a charm and maturity of scholarship showing through every page, they are still annual reports and, as a book, there is lacking a unity and a dramatic quality which many readers would desire. For the well-educated reader, whether specialist or not, the book is precisely the kind of work that would have a great appeal. Technical jargon and the minutiae of archaeology are reduced to a minimum, and there is throughout a human interest and a personal touch which are altogether charming. Moreover, the ninety-six plates at the end of the book are some of the best photographic reproductions the reviewer has ever seen. They are clear, sharp, well posed, and excellent in every respect. The short index is little more than an index of proper names.

The final answer to the question "Is republication justified?" can be given only in the light of the general and specific significance of these excavations. What have they added to the knowledge of the specialist and to the understanding of the well-informed reader?

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Edouard Naville excavated the great temples of Deir-el-Bahri, the region of tombs and mortuary temples near Thebes which has yielded many important remains from the time of the middle kingdom and early empire. The present work was concerned with digging out many corners and pockets that had been neglected, and much valuable material in the way of statues and fragments from the time of Hat-Shepsut and Thothmes III was found. The great part of the work consisted, however, of the uncovering of a great many tombs and burials, the most significant of them being those from the period of the late eleventh and twelfth dynasties (*ca.* 2000). It seems to this reviewer that the lasting significance of these excavations will consist in the knowledge gained about the life, death, and physical types of the people of Egypt, especially in the middle kingdom period. Much was unknown of that period before these excavations, and much is still unknown. But from this age, when most of the handicrafts and manual arts reached a very high level of development, we now know a great deal about the daily life of the people. In the last analysis it has never been the political history of ancient Egypt that has made such powerful impact upon modern history and scholarship. It has rather been the great wealth of objects, scenes, implements, etc., which has enabled us to reconstruct with such completeness the whole pattern of life, outlook, and pre-occupations of people in that time. One illustration of the type of material referred to may be taken from the work under review. In 1919 the Metropolitan expedition uncovered intact the tomb of Meket-Re, a chancellor and steward of the royal

palace (Dyn. XI). Here, untouched since the time of burial, was a small chamber with a large series of models of animals, servants, boats, gardens, and all the other implements and objects of everyday life. For no other culture do we have such concrete and impressive evidence for daily life as from such collections found in Egypt. Moreover, the meticulous study made of all details, the attempt to determine both how and why things were done as they were, these are lasting results of Winlock's work. One would like to present other such illustrations as the one above—another is the tomb of soldiers slain in war, with their abrasions, wounds, and arrows still in place in their bodies. But there is a great wealth of such material in the book. The remains of a colossal structure will strike the tourist with wonder and amazement and will attract financial support for archaeological work. But material such as is described here tells us more about the people, their life, and their society than the ruin of some mighty project of a ruler.

University of Missouri

THOMAS A. BRADY

KOUROI: A STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE GREEK KOUROS FROM THE LATE SEVENTH TO THE EARLY FIFTH CENTURY B.C. By *Gisela M. A. Richter*, with the co-operation of *Irma A. Richter*. Two hundred and eight photographs by Gerard M. Young. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1942. Pp. xxi, 428. \$15.00.)

THE *kouroi* to which this study is devoted are the nude male standing statues of the archaic period of Greek sculpture. They represented in some cases a god or hero and in others a victorious athlete. Some served as dedications in sanctuaries while others were sepulchral monuments. The author of the book, whose competence in Greek sculpture is everywhere recognized, presents a detailed analysis of these statues as an aid to a more intimate appreciation of them and of their development toward naturalism. On the basis of style the development is traced from the earliest appearance of the type in the last quarter of the seventh century to the first quarter of the fifth, when statuary in Greece ceased to observe the convention of frontality. Preliminary chapters discuss the type, the influences which shaped it, the materials used, a summary of anatomical details, etc. These are followed by a systematic examination of the statues which is based for the most part on the author's study of the monuments themselves. The *kouroi* fall into six chronologically successive groups which were produced during periods ranging from fifteen to thirty years. Each of these groups is preceded by a general discussion of its period. The analysis of each statue begins with the head and its details—skull, ear, eye, nose, mouth, hair—and then continues with the neck, torso, arm, hand, leg, foot, and foot-plinth. This part of the book is dull reading except for the specialist who will find the close analysis of great help in the assignment of newly discovered *kouroi* to their place in the history of the type.

The author has wisely refrained from an attempt to constitute schools, but a map showing the provenance of the statues would be instructive.

One may doubt that the sculptor of the early period deliberately sought "a solid harmonious structure in which essentials were generalized into expressive patterns" (p. 60). He had rather a memory picture of the male form and with it sought to express an idea, not a pattern. The *kouros* of the Metropolitan Museum may not be cited as evidence of harmonious structure when its proportions are abnormal. The forward inclination of this statue is a posture secondary to that of the *kouros* of Thasos, the back of which retains the verticality of the face of the rectangular block from which the figure was carved. The reviewer cannot agree with the appraisal of the Berlin *kore* as a masterpiece. The statue simply corrupts our vision of the antique.

These are marginalia on a volume of large value. One must be grateful to the author for assembling the *kouroi* and establishing their stylistic sequence. Even one who does no more than compare the statues in the fine plates will realize the fundamental fact that the idealism of Greek art in the fifth century was a rapidly achieved perfection of the typical.

Princeton University

GEORGE W. ELDERKIN

THE LOCAL HISTORIANS OF ATTICA. By *Lionel Pearson*, Assistant Professor of Classics, Stanford University. [Philological Monographs, published by the American Philological Association, Number XI, edited by T. Robert S. Broughton, Bryn Mawr College.] (Philadelphia: American Philological Association. 1942. Pp. xii, 167. \$2.25.)

PEARSON'S book, originally a dissertation accepted at Yale University, shares with its predecessor, *Early Ionian Historians* (Oxford University Press, 1939), the merit of presenting for the first time a detailed and yet comprehensive study of an important group of Greek historians. It is divided into seven chapters: "The *Atthis* of Hellanicus," "The Place of Thucydides in the Tradition," "The Successors of Thucydides," "The Earlier Atthidographers," "Ephorus, Theopompus, and Aristotle," "Philochorus and Ister," and "The *Atthis* Tradition."

The author is fully aware of the uncertainties involved in dealing with fragments, and no one can be more willing to approve of this attitude of caution than this reviewer. Its danger is, however, that it may lead to a kind of agnosticism which refuses to take up any problem of real difficulty. After reading Pearson's book I might be allowed to reassert some facts which can be established with a reasonable amount of confidence.

In view of the consideration given to the problem of the influence of the so-called *Atthis* tradition on other historians, particularly Thucydides, one is astonished to find no treatment of the history of Athens which Herodotus in-

corporated in his work. It was this history of Athens which undoubtedly served as a source for Hellanicus and his successors and which admittedly was used and corrected by Thucydides in his famous digressions on Cylon (I, 126) and the assassination of Hipparchus (VI, 54-59). Accordingly, Pearson's remark (p. 29) "But in his general preference for digressions about Athenian matters he [*scil.* Thucydides] shows an affinity to Hellanicus rather than to Herodotus" is untenable, and in fact in the whole chapter on Thucydides the importance of Hellanicus' *Atthis* for Thucydides is largely overrated.

Pearson's handling of the problem of the *Hellenica* of Oxyrhynchus is also disappointing, especially his ineffectual protests against De Sanctis' identification of this work with the *Atthis* of Androtion (p. 85f.). The fragment of Androtion discovered by Usener (*cf.* H. Bloch, *Harvard Stud. Class. Phil.*, Suppl. 1, 1940, p. 329f.), which Pearson seems to have overlooked, must be brought into the picture in this connection as well as in the discussion of the arrangement of Androtion's *Atthis*, since it proves definitely that this arrangement was annalistic (against Pearson's doubts, pp. 79f., 85, 121).

Although Pearson recognizes the existence of a "chronological system" followed by Aristotle in the historical section of the *Constitution of Athens* (p. 103f.) and admits that Aristotle probably knew the *Atthis* of Androtion (pp. 82-84, 99), he questions the only feasible solution, namely, that this chronological system is that of an *Atthis*, whether Androtion's or somebody else's. The same lack of consistency occurs in his treatment of the Chronicle of Athens as a collective unit. He denies the existence of an *Atthis* tradition in the sense of an established historical tradition (p. 145); a few pages later he concedes "that in some of the lean years, when there was little to be recorded, he [*scil.* Philochorus] could do nothing except reproduce what earlier writers had said" (p. 161). He refers specifically (pp. 161, 128f.) to the almost identical reports of Androtion and Philochorus on the dispute over the boundaries of the sacred Orgas in the Megarid in 350/349 B.C., which is, incidentally, not a "lean year." Indeed, Pearson's theory of "lean years" in general cannot be proved. It is therefore clear that, with the possible exception of the mythical period, the main body of historical information remained essentially the same, in spite of all personal contributions to that tradition by the individual *atthis*ographers. With the help of their fragments augmented by the anonymous material we can attempt, in Jacoby's words (*Fragm. der Griech. Historiker*, III, A, 1940, p. 8\*), to reconstruct, not, to be sure, the works of the individual *atthis*ographers but the *Atthis*, the Chronicle of Athens, a task not in the realm of Pearson's book, and yet to be undertaken when Jacoby's eagerly awaited new edition of *The Historians of Ancient Athens* is published.

Harvard University

HERBERT BLOCH



PAPYRI IN THE PRINCETON UNIVERSITY COLLECTIONS. Edited with Notes by *Allan Chester Johnson* and *Sidney Pullman Goodrich*. Volume III. [Princeton University Studies in Papyrology, No. 4.] (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1942. Pp. xi, 124. \$3.00.)

THIS volume, which completes the publication of the Princeton papyri, contains eighty-four miscellaneous pieces (Nos. 108-91), all, with one or two possible exceptions, dating from the period of Roman and Byzantine rule in Egypt (30 B.C.-641 A.D.). There are eight or nine literary pieces, including the inevitable *Iliad* fragments, three scraps from a parchment codex of Xenophon's *Hellenica*, and a small fragment from Isocrates' *Antidosis*. The remainder are public and private documents of familiar types (petitions, tax receipts, contracts, letters, etc.), most of them also in more or less fragmentary condition. No. 143, a brief receipt for payment of a debt, is a welcome addition to the small group of extant Latin papyri. The most important of the documents, however, is No. 151 (fourth century), in which one Aurelius Dioscurus offers to rent two female slaves for one year at a rental of six artabs of wheat. The slaves are termed *athanatoi*, "deathless," which means that if they should die (or, presumably, be lost in any other way) during the term of the lease, the loss would have to be made good by the lessee. Thus far there is nothing extraordinary in the contract; the next clause, however, is unprecedented in the papyri. The editors understand it as providing that any offspring of the slaves born during the period of the lease were to become the property of the lessee instead of the lessor, to whom they would normally belong under Roman law. It seems to me, however, that the clause in question may mean merely that the lessee was to pay the costs of rearing the offspring during the period of the lease, after which the infants were to return, together with their mothers, to the owner. It is difficult to be certain, because the papyrus breaks off at precisely this crucial point, leaving the text incomplete; but the interpretation here proposed would seem to be more in keeping with the general tenor of the contract as well as with the law.

One or two other documents seem to be of more than immediate importance and may repay further study. The rest will interest only the specialists in papyrology. It is possible to take issue with the editors on a number of small technical matters, but this is not the place for such details.

*New York City*

NAPHTALI LEWIS

THIS WAS CICERO: MODERN POLITICS IN A ROMAN TOGA. By *H. J. Haskell*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1942. Pp. viii, 406, xiii. \$3.50.)

THIS book, written by an experienced editor and reporter, is an excellent popular account of the life of Cicero. The professional scholar, to be sure, will find nothing new in it; yet it is not for that reason unworthy of his attention. The author brings to his task that practical insight into politics which comes from

intimate observation; a style which, while journalistic, is never cheap; a judgment that is sound and fair in its estimate of Cicero and his contemporaries; and a knowledge that must have been the result of conscientious and intensive work with the sources and the modern literature.

Since this book is written by a layman, it would be beside the point to list what few errors of fact (and they are few) are present. Some consideration, however, of the use of analogy in historical writing is pertinent. The author very ingeniously draws a comparison between the Rome of Cicero and England in the eighteenth century. There is also present, sometimes expressed and always implied, a comparison between the last century of the Roman Republic and our own times. Now, it is of course true that in one sense human nature is always and everywhere the same and that there are elements which both ancient and modern societies have in common. But there are also differences, and sometimes these differences make *all* the difference. In the first place, Cicero's Rome differs from the modern state in the nature and organization of property. In antiquity land, as a measure of wealth, never lost its primacy, and capital never became anonymous. The devices which make the modern corporation definitive of the modern state—long-term loans, the public debt, public credit, and a token currency—were absent in ancient Rome. As a consequence the Roman *publicani*, though they sometimes influenced the policy of the state, never *became* the state.

The other great difference between Roman society and our own lies in the political effects of modern scientific progress. Democracy in a large territorial state, perhaps even in a world-state, is feasible today because modern agencies of swift travel and quick and thorough dissemination of news make possible an informed electorate. In Cicero's time Rome was trying to govern an empire with a constitution adapted to the needs of a city-state. What did the Roman assemblies of the first century B.C., consisting, as they did, for the most part of those who lived in and near Rome, know of the problems of empire? The Roman senate, to be sure, was both informed and experienced, but it lacked an imperial point of view at a time when the provinces were becoming economically more important than Italy. In these circumstances it was natural that political power should pass to those men who, like the senate, were informed and experienced and, unlike the senate, were imperially minded—the army leaders.

The author is not unaware of these deeper differences, but he fails to give them adequate emphasis.

Ohio State University

W. F. McDONALD

TIBERIUS AND THE ROMAN EMPIRE. By Charles Edward Smith, Professor of History, Louisiana State University. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1942. Pp. v, 281. \$2.75.)

THIS volume reviews in eleven chapters the course of the reign of the Emperor Tiberius. The first seven chapters follow the chronological order in the natural divisions imposed by the sources: the accession of Tiberius, the mutinies, the German campaigns, Germanicus in the East, the trial of Piso, the rise of Sejanus, the emperor's retirement to Capri with the fall of Sejanus, and the events of the last years. These are followed by four general chapters on the prosecutions for *maiestas*, war and peace in the provinces, the emperor's attitude to the senate and the administration of Italy, and the economic conditions that prevailed during his reign. The book as a whole is written with some charm and gives at first reading the impression of a balanced though not particularly profound treatment of the reign and a fair and just picture of Tiberius himself. It does not stand closer scrutiny successfully, nor will it be particularly useful to critical students of the period.

First, the author's command of his sources leaves something to be desired. There are mistakes in translation, as when "si quid severius in eam statuisset" (*Ann.* 4, 54) is turned "*had* [*italics mine*] resolved on slightly rigorous measures against a lady" (p. 131 f.), and one misses in the discussion of the conspiracy of Libo reference to the note in the *Fasti Amiternini*, and in that of Sejanus to the *Fasti Ostienses*. Second, some unfamiliarity with Roman custom appears in the remarks on Germanicus' renunciation of friendship with Piso (p. 99, n. 106). The discussion of the trials of Libo, Asinius Gallus, Cremutius Cordus, and in general the various cases of *maiestas* in chapter VIII would have benefited from use of Rogers, *Criminal Trials and Criminal Legislation under Tiberius* (Monographs of the American Philological Association, VI [1935]). Third, there are a number of questions on which the author seems to be of two minds: for instance, whether Drusus was poisoned or not (*cf.* pp. 121ff. and 180); and whether Sejanus actually conspired against Tiberius, a possibility which in spite of strong ancient evidence the author admits rather grudgingly (pp. 140, 152 ff.). In the end he concludes that Tiberius had to overthrow Sejanus to protect the succession of Gaius.

One notes also a number of slips in details of form, some due to faulty proof-reading: Agrippa's name was Postumus, not "Posthumus" (p. 8); the Parthian king was Orodes, not "Oracles" (p. 80); Plancina was of the Munatian, not the "Planatian," family, and her father's cognomen was not "Planca" (p. 88); "the Sullan law of *Lex Sicariis*" is a rather curious expression (p. 109); Macro could hardly have been "sent from Capri by night with a letter to the Senate to be read the following morning" without some strain on ancient facilities for transportation (p. 147); *infra* in the notes frequently refers to earlier passages in the work.

Bryn Mawr College

T. ROBERT S. BROUGHTON

THE PRETORIAN PREFECT: FROM COMMODUS TO DIOCLETIAN (A.D. 180-305). By *Laurence Lee Howe*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1942. Pp. xiii, 141. \$2.00.)

THIS is a useful supplement to the works of Durry and Passerini on the praetorian cohorts. The study proper begins with a chapter on the position of the praetorian prefect in the reign of Commodus as a background for the development of the prefecture during the third century. Succeeding chapters cover the military and civil powers of the prefect and the history and influence of the prefecture. An appendix of thirty pages lists, with brief biographical notes, prefects whose tenure and dates are certain, those of certain tenure but doubtful date, those whose tenure is doubtful, and those rejected. A second appendix of thirty pages treats eight special problems, such as Apollonius' trial by Perennis, Comazon's antecedents and career, and the SHA as a source on the prefecture. A well-chosen selective bibliography and indexes complete the book.

The author has done his work conscientiously and the results are worth having, but this reviewer would nevertheless like to see the book rearranged and expanded into a study of all the known prefects. The present work had to be largely prosopographical, because the main features of the prefecture have already been outlined by others; so it seems a pity to limit the study to prefects between A.D. 180-305. Moreover, the quadripartite listing hampers the user now and will become more troublesome in the future. Its hazards are sufficiently indicated by noting that there are sixty "certain" prefects (seven of whom are nevertheless questioned), seven "certain" but of unknown date, nine "doubtful," and thirty-eight "rejected." Of these last, however, Julius Paulus and several others might as properly have been classed as doubtful, and the status of others may be altered at any moment by some chance papyrus.

Space permits mention of only one more topic. The author's thesis is that the prefect was a vice emperor, and for this there is colorable, though hardly conclusive, evidence. But if such a view is to be defended, it is not enough to note (p. 18) that "he was not recognized as the emperor's successor." More than the succession is involved; a discussion, for example, of the prefect's status relative to the *maius imperium* of Caesars like Lucius Aelius and Constantius Chlorus, and of others like Germanicus, who held extraordinary commands, is certainly called for. Nevertheless, the present work is a useful contribution, just as it stands, to the study of these problems.

*Beloit College*

ROBERT O. FINK

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT. By *Lloyd B. Holsapple*. (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1942. Pp. xix, 475. \$3.00.)

THE author approached the writing of this life of *Constantine the Great* through acquaintance with Eusebius of Caesarea, dating back thirty odd years

to Oxford, where he took the master's degree. Then for more than twenty years he was a clergyman in the Episcopal church. After a year of travel and study in Europe he entered the Roman Catholic church. Since 1931 he has been teaching in Manhattanville College, the last nine years as head of the classics department. He brings to his present task thorough familiarity with the early church fathers, with secondary material concerning Constantine, and with the sites and monuments involved. He was well qualified to meet the publisher's request for a new life of Constantine "for the undergraduate and for the intelligent general reader."

The introduction is an admirable statement of the author's purpose. Besides helping to dispel "the vast amount of ignorance regarding him [Constantine] among generally well informed people," he seeks to explain and to emphasize the religious significance of the period, for "many of its most thorough and competent students have been men who had scant sympathy with its religious achievements, and have been either free-thinkers or anti-Christian in outlook." To him the chief significance of the era is religious.

This biography does not contain new material upon Constantine or essentially new interpretations. Professor Holsapple minimizes the amount of new material available in recent times as negligible. He seeks to reconstruct the religious history of the Roman Empire in the late third and early fourth centuries from contemporary and immediately subsequent writings, checked chiefly by coinage, a few surviving inscriptions, and modern criticism.

More than in most periods the writers of that time looked upon history as a branch of oratory, as a means of extolling their movements and their heroes and of vilifying the other side. However objective and scientific the modern biographer may try to be, much depends on his own standpoint as to what he accepts, what he rejects, and what modification he makes in his interpretation. He must do all three. Given this author's approach and convictions, his reconstruction of the first Christian emperor and the religious developments of his time is scholarly, consistent, and reasonable. Much of his reconstruction does not claim more than probability, and if others do not go as far as he does in accepting the stories of the church fathers and the authenticity or provenance of documents, they can for the most part only oppose another probability to his. While the professional historian who deals with Constantine and his period will not look to this biography for critical enlightenment, the general reader will find it the best available presentation of Constantine and his times from the point of view of the scholarly churchman. It contains a sketch map of the Roman Empire, three additional illustrations, and a rather perfunctory index.

*Indianapolis, Indiana*

CHRISTOPHER B. COLEMAN

THE WOOL TRADE IN ENGLISH MEDIEVAL HISTORY. Being the Ford Lectures by *Eileen Power*, Professor of Economic History in the University of London. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1941. [Reprinted photographically in 1942.] Pp. viii, 128. \$2.35.)

FOR fourteen years before the lamented death of Eileen Power she had been working on the history of the medieval wool trade. To her the words could be applied which she wrote of George Unwin, that death has removed too soon one of "the most original minds among English economic historians." Fortunately for us, the outline and the chief findings of her intended book were embodied in the six lectures which she gave in 1939, here edited by Professor M. Postan, who was her husband and collaborator. In the preface he states his purpose, when peace returns, to prepare another edition to contain additional chapters and appendixes, based on the material already collected, together with the footnotes of necessity omitted in this preliminary publication. While awaiting the fuller presentation, we welcome the lectures, not only as a worthy tribute to her memory but, even without the scholarly apparatus, as a notable contribution to our knowledge of a central constituent of English medieval history. It is obviously based on original sources, and it bears the stamp of fresh and lucid thinking.

After an introductory lecture the second and third lectures deal competently with sheep farming and wool production and with the development and organization of the wool trade. The next two lectures, on the taxation of wool and the staple system, are clearly the core of the book, and their importance lies in the analysis of the clashing aims of the various economic groups concerned and of the working compromise gradually attained between them.

The great expansion of wool exports and therefore of production, with a probable predominance of demesne farming, before the mid-fourteenth century, was accompanied and furthered by foreign capital supplied by the alien export merchants. The crown, in its growing war needs, seized upon wool as the richest and most accessible export commodity, and export merchants, foreign and then native, became thereby, through loans *in* wool and taxes *on* wool, the financiers of an unexampled but brief period of speculative prosperity. The great bankruptcies of the mid-fourteenth century compelled a new answer to the financial problem of the crown and to the conflicting interests of export merchants and domestic wool dealers and growers. The opposition to a high export tax (resisted because it depressed home prices) gradually shifted from a demand by the commons for its abolition to an acceptance if under parliamentary control, thus after 1350 making unnecessary dealings between the crown and a separate assembly of merchants. The crown kept the high tax, but parliament, granting what had been the *maltote* of forty shillings per sack, strengthened its power. To replace foreign merchants as instruments of taxation and at the same time to satisfy English jealousy of aliens, felt alike by the English export merchants, the small body of



native capitalists, the up-country wool dealers and the clothiers, sales of wool were channeled through a single town, the staple, and a monopoly given to an English group of merchants, the Fellowship of the Staplers—an arrangement which conformed with the general late-medieval search for social security by monopoly control. The difference of opinion as to the location of the staple, whether on the Continent, useful for diplomatic negotiation to the crown and convenient for the export merchants, or in England as advocated by the domestic wool dealers and clothmakers in order to destroy the competition of foreigners in the home wool market, was finally settled by placing the staple at Calais, on the Continent but in English territory, but with some concessions to aliens who were permitted to buy in English home markets and to export directly by sea to Italy only. Finally, the wool growers, perhaps because the demesne farming of the great proprietors was being displaced by smaller peasant farming, had to accept lower prices but found a substitute market at home in the rapid fifteenth century growth of English cloth manufacture. The cloth manufacturers enjoyed an infant-industry protection not only by the unintended benefit of lowered home prices for wool resulting from the monopoly of the Calais staple but also by the definite tariff differential in favor of the export of cloth over wool.

The author calls the fifteenth century in England “the age of stagnation.” This phrase is used in speaking of sheep farming, but it applies more particularly, perhaps, to the declining wool exports of that time. In the last lecture, on the wool trade and the middle class, a truer general characterization is given of that long period which followed the speculative outburst of the previous century. The whole fifteenth century, in town or land, we are told, enjoyed “a more widespread but a more modest prosperity” than the mid-fourteenth century. The new adjustment, pivoting on monopoly and control, “depressed the apex while it broadened the foundation of the English middle classes.”

*Huntington Library*

EDWIN F. GAY

BRACTON DE LEGIBUS ET CONSUECUDINIBUS ANGLIÆ. Edited by George E. Woodbine. Volume IV. [Yale Historical Publications, Manuscripts and Edited Texts.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1942. Pp. xi, 378. \$7.50.)

THE first three volumes of Dr. Woodbine's monumental edition of Bracton's treatise on the laws of England were published in 1915, 1922, and 1940, respectively (review of Volumes I and II, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXVIII, 301-04, and of Volume III, *ibid.*, XLVII, 101-03). The fourth volume, published in 1942, now brings us the third and final installment of the text of the *De Legibus*.

The problem as to the nature of the original manuscript text of the treatise has long perplexed scholars, including Dr. Woodbine himself. In his first volume, which dealt with the manuscripts, he expressed the view that no existing MS.—

not even the Bodleian "Digby" Codex—can claim to be a direct copy from the original; and in the first volume as well as in the preface to the second he maintained that for at least the larger portion of the text there are three principal traditions. "It is on the basis of these traditions, and not on the readings of individual MSS.," he held, "that the restoration of the original text must rest." In forming his text of Bracton, now completed, Dr. Woodbine has used eleven selected MSS. as representatives of these three main traditions; and throughout the three volumes of text he has adhered to his principle of following the traditions, as proof of the original reading, even though an individual manuscript gives a better reading than that usually found. In the preface to this last volume Dr. Woodbine once more tells us that his "object has been to reproduce, as nearly as may be, that text which the manuscripts seem to show us was the one which finally left Bracton's hand." There is, however, he says, "no justification for the assumption that the original text was perfect in every respect, and that all the imperfections which we now find in the text are the result of careless copying and re-copying on the part of the scribes." Indeed, it is at times "quite impossible to tell whether even palpable errors in the text should be charged to [Bracton] or to the copyists."

In connection with this problem as to the original text, attention may be drawn to a thesis advanced by the late Dr. H. Kantorowicz, author (with the collaboration of Professor Buckland, Cambridge) of *Studies in the Glossators of the Roman Law* (1938). In his *Bractonian Problems* (1941) Kantorowicz maintained that the treatise was not written in the main between 1250 and 1258 by Bracton the justice of Henry III, as Maitland thought (*Bracton's Note Book* [1887], i. 34-45; *History of English Law* [2d ed., 1898], i. 207), but before 1239 when Bracton was still the clerk of William Raleigh. The Bractonian text, as handed down to us in the MSS., is not, however, Kantorowicz held, the work of William Raleigh's clerk himself but a redaction of Bracton's original, made, after the death of the great lawyer, by a man whose name and personality are now unknown to us. This man may have been a friend, a relative, a colleague of Bracton's, his official clerk or his private secretary, or an apprentice at law; but, whoever he was, he "must have been more than a mere professional scribe, and less than an accomplished scholar; he must have been trained in English law, as the English portions [of the treatise] are so much better transmitted than the romanist portions." Whoever he was, it was this "redactor," Kantorowicz contended, who made a copy of Bracton's original manuscript; and this copy is "the archetype of all extant MSS." of the treatise. Although, he said, Bracton's original is probably lost forever, "from the extant manuscripts we can guess that it must have been in an appalling state of disorder after several years of drafting and about thirty years of adding to it."

In his *Bractonian Problems* Kantorowicz has not only praised Dr. Woodbine for his legal and historical learning but has referred to his edition of Bracton as the work of "a highly respected scholar" who has spent "much time filled to the

brim with most difficult, fatiguing, and tedious research." But at the same time holding so firmly to his own view that the archetype of all extant MSS. was made after Bracton's death by the unknown "redactor," Kantorowicz has not only expressed his marked dissatisfaction with Dr. Woodbine's pedigree of the MSS. but has in general sharply criticized his editorial method of reproducing the text of the *De Legibus*. Without, however, entering into the details of this acute and learned criticism, it may here be remarked simply that Dr. Woodbine, with an unrivaled firsthand knowledge of the forty-eight accessible manuscripts of the treatise, has had sound reasons for following in the three volumes of text the method which he adopted at the outset (see Volume I). He has produced a far more reliable text than that of any of the earlier editors; he has, moreover, illumined that text in a way which will make the task of any future editor much easier than was his own. Maitland, the greatest Bractonian scholar of his time, called for a new edition of the treatise (*Bracton's Note Book*, i. 136, *Bracton and Azo*, p. 250). In responding to that call, Dr. Woodbine has attained the desired end with notable success.

In the preface to this fourth volume Dr. Woodbine tells us that his collation of the entire text for a large number of manuscripts has shown him that the editor of the first printed edition of Bracton (1569, reprinted 1640) made, as he claimed to have made, a more than cursory examination and comparison of several texts. This extensive collation by Dr. Woodbine has also substantiated his earlier deduction that many of the manuscripts fail to follow the same tradition throughout; and it has, moreover, furnished additional evidence to support his earlier suggestion that "the tradition represented by group I gives us what is, basically at least, an early text which is older than most of the addiciones, and older than many of the corrections and alterations made probably by Bracton himself."

In the next volume, which will be devoted to notes and commentary, Dr. Woodbine will deal with some of these matters more in detail. Much of the material for this volume has already been collected: we may, therefore, expect it to appear in the near future. In it one may hope that Dr. Woodbine will give us a full account of Bracton as a civilian: the article entitled "The Roman Element in Bracton's *De Adquirendo rerum dominio*" (*Yale Law Journal*, XXXI [1921-22], 827 ff.) shows us that he is especially well qualified to write on this aspect of Bracton's work. Kantorowicz, praising Bracton as a civilian, found Maitland's unfavorable judgment of his learning in the Civil Law unjustified. We may confidently look to Dr. Woodbine to present us with a definitive answer to this question.

*Harvard University Law School*

H. D. HAZELTINE

## Modern European History

ENGLISH SOCIAL HISTORY, A SURVEY OF SIX CENTURIES: CHAUCER TO QUEEN VICTORIA. By *G. M. Trevelyan*, Master of Trinity College, Late Regius Professor of Modern History at the University of Cambridge. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1942. Pp. xii, 628. \$4.50.)

THE importance of social history is rivaled only by its complexity. As the late regius professor defined his task in his inaugural lecture of 1927, "the connecting link between economic and political history is social history—that is to say, the history of classes and modes of life with their accompanying habits of thought." The very titles of his books, beginning with *England in the Age of Wycliffe*, published almost forty-five years ago, show how "the social life going on behind the drums and trumpets and Parliamentary debates" has long been uppermost in his mind. And now from the Master's Lodge at Trinity comes this survey of English social history from Chaucer to the death of Victoria.

This is a war book. Lack of paper in England accounts for its debut in an American edition. The centuries preceding the fourteenth were still to be done when the war interrupted the original plan of covering from Roman times to the present. And feeling that the proper perspective is still lacking, Dr. Trevelyan has chosen to halt his story in 1901. The text lacks polish and there are many infelicities of style—such as the citing of authorities now in the text, now in the footnotes—which the author would no doubt have eliminated under more peaceful circumstances.

Social history, in common with many other "fields" of history, has always found the inherited "web of political history" both confining and distorting. Likewise the overlapping continuity which exists in the life and thought of a society is ill-adapted to the steady progression of kings and parliaments. To avoid these inconveniences Professor Trevelyan has employed "a series of scenes divided by intervals of time." Chaucer, Caxton, the Tudors, Defoe, Dr. Johnson, and Cobbett furnish some of the labels. In general the method is successful. Six centuries are covered in six hundred pages, but the distribution is uneven. The eighteenth century, if a valuable chapter on Scotland is included, occupies over one third of the book. The sixteenth, seventeenth, and nineteenth centuries take up about half the book between them.

This distribution springs from Dr. Trevelyan's love for agricultural, rural, pre-industrial England.

Indoors and out it was a lovely land. Man's work still added more than it took away from the beauty of nature. Farm buildings and cottages of local style and material sank into the soft landscape, and harmoniously diversified and adorned

it. The fields, enclosed by hedges of bramble and hawthorn set with tall elms, and the 'new plantations' of oak and beech were a fair exchange for the bare open fields, the heaths and thickets of an earlier day. Nor indeed had all these disappeared. And near to almost every village was a manor-house park, with clumps of great trees under which the deer still browsed.

The subtitle might well be "The Rise and Fall of Rural England," for this is perhaps the main theme of the book. A variety of such themes provides the continuity necessary to counterbalance the episodic organization. The persistence of voluntary association and private enterprise, the peculiar domination of London in English life, the status of women, education, and the poor are a few of these unifying strands.

An impressive and happy variety of materials has been drawn upon. Some of the ground was traversed by Dr. Trevelyan in his earlier books on Wycliffe, the Stuarts, and Queen Anne. But Eileen Power's last bit of brilliant synthesis, Adam Eyre's diary, Byron's diatribe against war profiteers, and the "continuous but even-moving tradition" of English architecture all contribute to the story. Dr. Trevelyan moves easily through the countryside in a selective rather than a comprehensive fashion.

The conditions surrounding its appearance as well as the admirable courage which it represents make any questioning of this book almost ungracious. But "habits of thought"—admittedly a vital half of Dr. Trevelyan's own definition of social history—receive much less treatment than "modes of life." To Dr. Trevelyan the appeal of history has always been poetic and imaginative, "the ardour . . . to know what really happened long ago in that land of mystery we call the past." In a prose which has moments of almost poetic insight he has recaptured much of the life and surroundings of a vanishing rural England, but the thoughts of that England still remain very largely a mystery.

*Yale University*

T. C. MENDENHALL

THE ENGLISH YEOMAN UNDER ELIZABETH AND THE EARLY STUARTS. By *Mildred Campbell*, Associate Professor in History in Vassar College. [Yale Historical Publications, Leonard Woods Labaree, Editor, Studies, XIV.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1942. Pp. xiii, 453. \$3.75.)

THIS excellent book represents an enormous amount of careful research, not so much because there was so much to be found, though Miss Campbell has found plenty, as because there were so many places to look for it. Anyone undertaking to write the history of a social class in the late Tudors and the early Stuarts faces an amount of material which in the aggregate is overwhelming. The state papers, the family papers, the records of all the courts, the diaries, the travelers' tales, the plays, and even the sermons must all be searched. It is evident from Miss Campbell's admirable discussion of her sources that she has searched them all.

Her initial problem was that of defining her subject. The term "yeoman" meant different things at different times. Politically it tended to identify itself with the freeholder, socially, with the landowning class which lay just below the gentry. Always it had to do with the relation of the man to the land, and always it implied free tenure and free status. It was associated in the popular mind with the long bow, with Crécy and Poitiers, and there was a special pride of Englishry about it which Shakespeare felt and expressed:

"And you, good Yeomen, whose limbs were made in England,  
Show us now the mettle of your pasture."

Miss Campbell, in successive chapters, discusses the position of the yeoman in English society, his land hunger, the nature of his tenancy, the way he made his living, the house he lived in, the food he ate, even the flowers he cultivated in his garden. She tells us of his education, his religion, his place in the body politic. On the whole she is better in the first than in the last part of her story. It would be easy to add much to what she says about education. One is rather surprised to find no reference to the notable contributions of Leech and Foster Watson to that subject. And students of religion will not be prepared to accept, without a great deal more evidence than she presents, the dictum that the yeoman "leaned towards some form of Puritanism." So, too, on the political side we should have welcomed much more about the county elections to parliament in which the yeoman played the major part, about the assessment and collection of taxes, about the musters, and about jury service. But on the social and economic side Miss Campbell is very satisfying.

What will bother readers familiar with Professor Tawney's notable study *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century* is how to reconcile Miss Campbell's picture of the yeoman as a prosperous fellow, well-to-do and growing rich, with the decline of the small landholder, which was certainly one of the major phenomena in country England from the time when Sir Thomas More wrote his *Utopia* until well beyond the time when Goldsmith wrote his *Deserted Village*. We can say, if we like, that by definition the yeoman was a prosperous fellow and that as soon as prosperity forsook him he ceased to be a yeoman. But Miss Campbell never says that. We get no picture of the decay of a whole class. Probably we get too bright a picture of the class at any time. Miss Campbell's discussion of the yeoman's possessions, for example, rests too heavily upon surviving yeomen's wills at a time when probably only the most prosperous ever made wills. So, too, much of her evidence is drawn from cases in litigation, without taking account of the fact that, by and large, it was only the better-to-do who could indulge in the luxury of litigation. She cites many instances of yeomen who were improving their lot, forgetting that yeomen, like all the rest of mankind, liked to record their successes and ignore their failures. It is the men who go up that get mentioned, not the men who go down. The cold fact is that between the middle of the six-

teenth and the middle of the nineteenth centuries we have to account in England for the disappearance of the yeomanry as a class. Certainly the germs of decay were actively at work in the period of which Miss Campbell writes. But she does not appear to be aware of it. From all that she has to say, we might well conclude that the yeomen in 1650 were just as numerous, just as prosperous, and just as independent as ever they had been. She has her eye too entirely upon the few who were steadily mounting into the ranks of the gentry, not enough upon the many who were steadily descending through the ranks of the husbandmen into the ranks of the landless agricultural laborers.

But it will never do to end upon a note of censure. This is a book of first-rate importance to every student of English society. It is almost the first of its kind for the period under consideration. For that reason it will serve as an admirable pattern for research in analogous fields. No student of English social history hereafter will dare ignore the riches concealed in local archives, in star chamber records, and in exchequer and chancery depositions. And no one will dare aver that the study of a social class in seventeenth century England, difficult though it may be, is an impossible task.

*Washington, D. C.*

CONYERS READ

THE OCEAN IN ENGLISH HISTORY. Being the Ford Lectures by *James A. Williamson*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1941. Pp. 208. \$3.00.)

ALTHOUGH naturally pleased by any innovation which tends to increase popular interest in the social studies, the historian will probably not credit the current group of journalistic enthusiasts for geopolitics with much more than the invention of a new label for discussions of the influence of the geographical factor on history. As we all know, this familiar topic has long been part of our stock in trade and many a historical scholar has devoted himself to it. Mr. Williamson's Ford Lectures represent a further contribution to the literature of this well-established field, and the author is so far from claiming novelty for his point of view that he prefaces his work with an apologetic explanation that although these discourses on "past history" were delivered at Oxford in May and June, 1940, they were prepared before the outbreak of the present war, when supposedly one might be forgiven for planning such an academic series.

The author's theme is the working of the "Oceanic Interest" as "one of the many formative influences of modern England, from the opening of the Tudor period to the threshold of the nineteenth century." There are lectures on the discovery of America, English enterprise in the Atlantic, the propagandists of the Tudor period, and governmental policy toward the overseas traders. In these sections, designed for a British audience, the reader who is at home in American colonial history will find himself on familiar ground. The discussion of British ventures in the Indian Ocean, the East Indies, and the Pacific takes us somewhat



further afield and provides a useful historical background for many places of newly acquired importance, such as New Guinea and the Solomon Islands.

In his concluding lecture, on the shaping of modern England, the author really come to grips with his subject and undertakes to estimate the importance of the oceanic interest as a cause of the misnamed Industrial Revolution. By pointing out the contributions made by overseas markets and by the capital accumulated in trade with them, he makes a strong case for the theory, also held by Mullett and Lipson, that the influence of the oceanic factor was considerable. But he notes that Continental powers with overseas interests did not keep pace with England in the industrial race and carefully concludes that military security, political liberalism, and the availability of natural resources were also important factors.

There is still room for a full-length book in this field, one which will be able to devote more space to the oceanic interest in domestic politics and also cover the last century and a half. Nevertheless, we are indebted to Mr. Williamson for a stimulating treatment of the problem and a useful summary of the overseas activities of English traders during three important centuries.

Orlando, Florida

M. M. KNAPPEN

JOHN PONET (1516?-1556), ADVOCATE OF LIMITED MONARCHY.

By Winthrop S. Hudson. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942. Pp. ix, 246, 183. \$4.50.)

Dr. Hudson's book is in two main parts: first, a biography of John Ponet and a study of his political theory; and, second, a facsimile reproduction of the rare 1556 edition of Ponet's most important work, *A Shorte Treatise of Politike Power*.

Although the general outlines of Ponet's life are known, the details are often lacking. Dr. Hudson has performed a valuable service of reconstruction; his careful scholarship has brought out much material about Ponet's friends and the environment in which he and they moved. We thus get a complete picture of the man, and though part of it is based on conjecture, this conjecture is sound and well documented.

The *Shorte Treatise* was written and published in 1556, and, as Dr. Hudson says, its immediate purpose was "to justify the deposition of a prince who, like Mary, was intent upon enforcing the demands of a false religion." He adds, "it is remarkable, at a time when men's thoughts were so thoroughly disturbed by the religious issue, that Ponet should base his political philosophy on broad constitutional principles rather than on theological considerations." Dr. Hudson clearly demonstrates that this was the case; he shows how Ponet took the lead in advocating active resistance to tyranny and, more important, how Ponet was the ablest political theorist of the anti-Marian group.

In his contagious enthusiasm for his subject Dr. Hudson occasionally makes Ponet out a little further in advance of his age than he actually was. It is not

correct, for example, to say that Ponet breaks with the traditional dictum that evil rulers are sent by God as punishments to evil people; Ponet does say just this, in numerous passages. The whole final chapter is Ponet's exhortation to the English people to repent of their sins, and he interprets comets, eclipses, and monstrous births as warnings of God's wrath, which has been visited on the realm in the shape of the Marian troubles. This divine wrath-tyranny-repentance theme, also used by Gilby, Goodman, and Knox in works which followed the *Shorte Treatise*, was an important part of Ponet's thought and should be emphasized with the rest of his political and moral philosophy.

Dr. Hudson has compressed a great deal into a small compass, and both the specialist and the general student will find this twofold work indispensable. There is no space here for the quotations which would show how clearly Ponet thought and how well he wrote. There should be more books of this kind, and it is to be hoped that Dr. Hudson will take the lead in giving them to us.

*California Institute of Technology*

HARDIN CRAIG, JR.

CALENDAR OF THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE MOST HONOURABLE  
THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY, K.G., P.C., G.C.V.O., C.B., T.D.,  
PRESERVED AT HATFIELD HOUSE, HERTFORDSHIRE, PART  
XVIII (A. D. 1606). Edited by *M. S. Giuseppi*. [Historical Manuscripts Commission, 9.] (London: H. M. Stationery Office; New York: British Information Services. 1940. Pp. xxxii, 527. \$3.40.)

On the whole, this is rather a dull volume and does not add very much to our knowledge of the events of the year 1606. A great many of the papers are taken up with the aftermath of the Gunpowder Plot, the capture of some of the conspirators, the question of the extent of Father Garnet's guilt, and especially with the efforts on the part of the English authorities to secure the surrender of Hugh Owen and Father Baldwin by the archdukes of the Spanish Netherlands. The only documents of much interest in this connection are two letters from Garnet—one to Greenway on April 4 and one to the English Catholics, dated April 13; this is the first time that the originals have been printed in full. Next in number to the letters concerning the Gunpowder Plot are those that ask for favors of some sort or other from Salisbury; these produce little that is of value. There are also a good many letters to and from Sir Thomas Edmundes, English ambassador at Brussels, for his letter-book happens to be among the Salisbury Papers, but these do not reveal much that is new in foreign diplomacy.

In international law, however, three matters of interest are discussed at some length: the position of a neutral country in regard to revictualling a belligerent fleet (pp. 158, 160), the obligation to punish a man resident in a foreign country who has conspired against or libeled his own sovereign (cases of Baldwin, Owen, and Gay; see p. 227), the position of a subject employed in the house of a foreign

ambassador (case of John Ball, an Irish servant of the Spanish ambassador in London). There are also some valuable letters from Sir Thomas Sherley on his way home from the East, in one of which he comments on the extensive trading operations of the Jesuits in Naples (p. 147), while a letter from William Crashawe, father of the poet, exhibits a rather belligerent Protestantism of which his son would hardly have approved (pp. 250-51).

In the field of economic history there are one or two interesting side lights thrown on the difficulties of royal finance: the farming of the customs on currants netted nearly £3,000 in each of the years 1605 and 1606 to its farmers (p. 306). In 1578 the crown borrowed £28,757.11.3 from Sir Horatio Palavicino and his partners; interest at 10 per cent amounting in all to £45,479.11.11 was paid in one way or another until 1593, but in 1606 the crown was still owing £66,581.11.6. Even the creditors admit that this is a large sum, but they allege rather proudly that the rate of interest is less than that charged to other potentates (pp. 429-30). It is almost an anticlimax to point out that according to a note on some land in Hertfordshire, arable is still renting for only 5/- an acre, while pasture brings in 10/-.

The editorial work has been admirably done; the only criticism that might be voiced is that, when it is noted that Salisbury has corrected a draft (*e.g.*, of the king's letter to the commons, pp. 89-90), it would be interesting to know in what exactly these corrections consisted; as it is, we are given merely the final version.

McGill University

E. R. ADAIR

THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEES IN THE DEPARTMENTS OF FRANCE, 1793-1794. By *John Black Sirich*, Instructor in History in the University of Illinois. [Harvard Historical Studies, Volume LII.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1943. Pp. xii, 238. \$2.50.)

THIS is a companion study to Brinton's *Jacobins* and Greer's *Incidence of the Terror*. In a pleasing note of acknowledgment the author expresses his gratitude to Brinton and to Stringfellow Barr, for having encouraged him to think adventurously and to eschew hackneyed ideas, and "to the people of France for having gone to the trouble of having a revolution." The problem set for study was the degree of influence exercised on the Terror by the Revolutionary committees in the departments. Did Paris call the tune and the departments dance in rhythm? Or did the departments retard or accelerate the rhythm, or even venture to tread independent measures, as the spirit chanced to move them? In other words, to what extent were the laws and instructions sent down from the capital effective or ineffective in the departments? What duties were assigned to the Revolutionary committees, and how well did they perform their functions? In short, how did the machinery of the Terror operate outside Paris?

According to Barère, who was in position to know, there were 21,500 committees in France. "Today," according to Sirich, "the documents of about 3,650 are extant, and this number includes hundreds of registers of village committees whose activities were negligible." How to exploit successfully this mass of miscellaneous material is a difficult problem in scientific method. Sirich, after an examination of inventories, selected fifteen departmental archives for exploitation, "either because of the richness of their collection or because of their importance in Revolutionary history." A checkup on the map shows the selections fairly well distributed over France, from Lille to Carcassonne, but Rennes for some reason is omitted from the list. Presumably, after an archival deposit had been selected, all the material therein pertaining to Revolutionary committees was grist for the mill. Whether a more systematic process of sampling would have been more scientific, the reviewer is not qualified to say, but the question is perhaps worth raising.

Having determined his method of exploiting the source material, the author's task was to arrange in chronological order the various laws and instructions sent down from the capital for the formation and guidance of the Revolutionary committees and to note the reaction to these laws and instructions in the departments. The Law of March 21, 1793, for the election of committees of surveillance by the communes was found to be a good starting point. A Girondist measure, this enactment was largely ineffective; but during the summer of that year representatives on mission and local administrative units, ignoring Paris, appointed numerous extralegal committees, with chaotic powers and functions, to deal with local crises. The Law of 14 Frimaire was an attempt to reduce chaos to system and establish a central control. The activities of the committees under this law down to the famous month of Thermidor, when the machinery of the Terror began to be dismantled, constitute the main theme of the book.

The reviewer rises from the perusal of the book with great admiration for the author's craftsmanship. He has put together a mosaic which gives a fairly clear picture of the machinery of the Terror as it operated in the departments, and he brings out in high color the impossibility of writing a well-balanced account of the institutions of the Terror, or indeed of the Revolution as a whole, from the laws passed at Paris. More than this the author does not claim to show.

*University of North Carolina*

MITCHELL B. GARRETT

ADAMANTIOS KORAI: A STUDY IN GREEK NATIONALISM. By  
*Stephen George Chaconas*. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law.]  
(New York: Columbia University Press. 1942. Pp. 181. \$2.50.)

HANS Kohn has observed that it was European, mainly English, scholars who rediscovered the ancient past of India and helped to create Indian nationalism. Similarly, western scholars studied and interpreted Greek antiquity for the

modern Greeks as well as for themselves, and although in this task they were powerfully assisted, and, indeed, came to be led, by a Greek, Adamantios Korais (1748-1833), the latter was trained in the West and lived and worked in France for half a century. With the financial support of Greek merchants Korais re-edited the Greek classics and distributed them widely among his compatriots. In prolegomena to these editions, as well as in a voluminous correspondence, he emphasized the moral and patriotic value of the classics and described his liberal and secular ideals in politics and education, which he owed to the enlightenment and to the French Revolution. From his western teachers Korais had also learned to identify language with nationality, and he attempted to standardize a type of modern Greek, still based essentially on Attic Greek, though not so archaic as ecclesiastical Greek, in order to achieve the linguistic unity of the race.

Korais regarded the outbreak of the Greek Revolution in 1821 as premature, but he quickly assumed the role of guiding the revolutionists in the creation of the new middle-class democracy. Although events falsified his hopes, he remained a doctrinaire liberal, condemning the emergency dictatorship of Count Capodistrias. But his influence on the Revolutionary constitutions was felt and became part of the liberal and constitutionalist tradition of modern Greece.

Dr. Chaconas' dissertation is the first monograph in any language to deal comprehensively with Korais. The author has industriously exploited Korais' writings and has made available the results of recent researches in Greece. With pardonable exaggeration he overstates the role of Korais as the virtual creator of the Revolution. Although he was a conscious promoter of nationalism, Korais was himself an example and product of the more fundamental moral and intellectual regeneration of the Greeks in the century before 1821. In dealing with the vexed question of bilingualism Dr. Chaconas succeeds well enough in defending Korais' compromise in terms of his desire to achieve the greatest national unity. Yet the fact remains that the language of Korais became the basis of the artificial "purist" Greek that dominated poetry and prose during most of the nineteenth century and tragically retarded the normal literary development of the spoken language.

The dissertation is marred by an unfortunate mistranslation from the Greek of Korais (p. 114, n. 6) and the confusion of Alexander Ypsilanti, the revolutionary, with his father, the hospodar. A curious bibliographical omission is C. P. Oikonomos, *Die pädagogischen Anschauungen des Adamantios Korais* (Leipzig, 1906).

*Milwaukee, Wisconsin*

PETER W. TOPPING

## CARDINAL CONSALVI AND ANGLO-PAPAL RELATIONS, 1814-1824.

By *John Tracy Ellis*, Assistant Professor of History in the Catholic University of America. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1942. Pp. xi, 202. \$2.50.)

EVERY reader of this study will share the expressed regret of its author that the war denied him access to European archives but will doubtless agree that he has accomplished a useful and exacting piece of work. By covering a wide range of periodicals and monographs and by making the fullest possible use of documentary publications (such as those of Rinieri), which most scholars have drawn upon only incidentally, he fills many an interstice in one's knowledge of his intricate subject. It is, for example, news to most of us at least that the British government in 1814 employed Bishop Poynter, vicar apostolic of the London district, to investigate Italian desires for national unity. But Dr. Ellis, while doing full justice to Consalvi's work in securing the return of nearly all the papal territories to their legitimate sovereign, is not especially preoccupied with international relations in the ordinary sense. Consalvi's dealings with "the Catholic question" in the United Kingdom offer him a fresher theme. Hence the accounts of the cardinal's first contacts with British society and government, his visit to London in June, 1814, his negotiations with Castlereagh at Vienna concerning the terms upon which Catholic emancipation might be granted, and his handling of problems so delicate as that of the return of the Jesuits to England constitute by far the greater and more valuable portion of the book. The difficulties introduced into the emancipation question by defective knowledge and differences in viewpoint, at Rome as well as in the United Kingdom, and even with regard to Consalvi and Castlereagh, are clearly shown; the deadlock reached on the British government's demand that it should exercise censorship on papal communication with British and Irish Catholics is given proper and needed emphasis; and many another contribution is made to perspective and detail.

Those who know Dr. Ellis may wonder whether limitations of space forced him to make his narrative so austere, to relegate to his footnotes much that might have lightened it, and to pass over the revealing and humorous touches so readily supplied by ill-informed and meticulous officialdom and by party politics. Hansard, which he did not need to use but might have used, is, on religious issues, a very storehouse of such material. Almost inevitably he makes a few statements which one may question. If, for example, "the opening of Maynooth College . . . was intended to serve [the] end of creating a docile clergy" rather than, as has been believed, to eliminate Continental influence from clerical training, one would be glad to have the evidence. There is some apparent confusion as to Consalvi's views regarding the censorship (pp. 97-116); and there are some minor inaccuracies, such as the date given for Castlereagh's appointment to the foreign office and the investing of Liverpool with a dukedom. But there is nothing to detract

seriously from the book's merits. Anyone who wishes to study the curiously unrealistic attitude of successive British cabinets and parliaments of the nineteenth century toward the papacy and the Roman Catholics of the United Kingdom will find this scholarly monograph indispensable.

*Wesleyan University*

HERBERT C. F. BELL

BRITISH POLICY AND THE TURKISH REFORM MOVEMENT: A STUDY IN ANGLO-TURKISH RELATIONS, 1826-1853. By *Frank Edgar Bailey*, Mount Holyoke College. [Harvard Historical Studies, Volume LI.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1942. Pp. xiv, 312. \$3.50.)

As its subtitle implies, Mr. Bailey's scholarly monograph is well over half devoted to matters other than Ottoman reform. Separate chapters consider Britain's new interest in Turkey after 1833, her commercial and industrial expansion as related to the Ottoman Empire, her Turkish trade, and her policy before the Crimean War.

Two chapters treat the main subject, the discussion here centering in the reform program known as the Hatti Sherif of Gulhané (1839). As both chapters show, somewhat negative results from historical research may be valuable when corrective of earlier views: the author concludes, finally, that "the most significant facts with respect to British influence on the reform movement after 1825 were its tardiness and ineffectiveness" (p. 229). One chapter on Ottoman reform demonstrates the propriety of Palmerston's view that Reshid Pasha was himself the principal author of the Hatti Sherif of 1839. Neither Stratford Canning nor Ponsonby, despite his opportunity as ambassador, nor Palmerston contributed directly to this outline of reform, though all were appreciative of it. The program proved largely inoperative because of Ottoman conservatism, the nature of Muslim law, and the personal jealousy aroused by Reshid. Mr. Bailey suggests that Reshid's object was to employ internal reform as the best means of winning the favor of western nations (pp. 179-81), but he does not argue that the proposed reform stemmed from expediency alone. He accurately catches the flavor of Canning's unpublished papers in analyzing that ambassador's policy. Canning, while not entirely selfish in motive, clearly "sympathized with reforms which would raise the prestige of his country and allow his countrymen to increase their trade with Turkey" (pp. 225-26). It is also correct to say that Britain's "original anti-Russian policy became sincerely pro-Turkish" as commerce increased (p. 233).

British policy fluctuated before the Crimean War, in a decade when reform was little discussed. Mr. Bailey rightly interprets the fatal effect of the 1844 agreement between Russia and England, especially Aberdeen's policy (p. 207). This reviewer must observe, however, that Palmerston's anti-Russian attitude (p. 206, note) was far from consistent throughout the decade. There is evidence, in fact (in F. O. 65, Russia, Vol. 331), to demonstrate how fully Palmerston accepted as



British policy on February 18, 1847, the tenets of the understanding concerning British and Russian co-operation in all Persian and Turkish affairs. The same point is overlooked by Temperley and others.

Because much has been written on the international relations of the Levant for the period, Mr. Bailey must constantly appraise the conclusions of others. In doing so he is usually fair and judiciously incorporates a variety of findings; once, however, when describing Palmerston's policy as "subtle," he lectures a writer (p. 176). By a slip he places Palmerston continuously at the foreign office from 1846 to 1855 (p. 207). He might have noted, also, that Palmerston in 1836 renewed his order for the fleet to prevent a new Turco-Egyptian clash (p. 160).

The appendix includes several pertinent tabulations for trade, compiled from the customs archives. The footnotes and bibliography take no account of new material and views published since 1936, especially those relating to the Treaty of Unkiar-Iskelessi.

*University of California*

VERNON J. PURYEAR

THE BERLIN WEST AFRICAN CONFERENCE, 1884-1885. By *S. E. Crowe*, Tutor in Politics, St. Hilda's College, Oxford. [Royal Empire Society, Imperial Studies, No. 19.] (London, New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1942. Pp. x, 249. \$6.00.)

Mr. Crowe's account of the Berlin West African Conference of 1884-85 is a remarkably clear study of diplomacy which corrects many impressions found in the general histories. His study is an important addition to historical literature in that it uses documentary evidence to supplement the highly selective published sources. Material was derived from the published documents of the states involved, and from the Slave Trade Papers, the Niger and Oil Rivers Papers in the Public Record Office. The author also uses the letters of his grandfather, Sir Joseph Archer Crowe, who was one of the British delegates to the conference.

The objective of this well-conceived monograph is to place the so-called "Congo Conference" in a perspective which is both European and African. In European relations the conference revolved around the central figure of Bismarck and grew out of the Anglo-German estrangement of 1884-85. While Bismarck proclaimed that he was "no colonial man," he played the game of colonial politics to embarrass the British in Europe and Africa. He utilized the device of an artificial Franco-German entente which did not stand the test of colonial bargaining any more than it formed a lasting combination in European diplomacy. Caught in the midst of the rivalries of the great states were the ghostly claims of the Portuguese Empire and the bizarre International Association of the Congo. Despite his original intentions, Bismarck found that he had to swing his support from France to Britain and the association, while Portugal reversed her pro-British policy to support France.

The conference had an important meaning in Africa. The prize was rich, for it not only involved the Congo basin but the Niger area and the Portuguese possessions as well. The conference debated and decided problems of boundary and policy which involved all Central Africa. The motivation was territorial rather than humanitarian.

Mr. Crowe shows that the conference was a British diplomatic triumph rather than a defeat, as it is sometimes pictured. In all major decisions involving boundaries, slavery, free trade, and the doctrine of occupation the British won their points with the support of Bismarck, rather than losing them at the hands of the Franco-German entente.

This study raises interesting questions. If the use of unpublished documents in the Public Record Office changes the accepted versions of diplomatic events which have hitherto been analyzed in terms of the sources of German revisionism, a new and important field of research would be opened, freed from polemical undertones and the erroneous idea that diplomats in 1884 had their eyes set on 1914.

*College of the City of New York*

FRANCIS WILLIAMSON

MENNONITE HISTORY. Volume I, MENNONITES IN EUROPE, by *John Horsch*. (Scottsdale: Mennonite Publishing House. 1942. Pp. xiii, 425. \$2.00.)

THIS book, which is to be followed soon by a companion volume, *Mennonites in America*, from the competent pen of H. S. Bender, was written by John Horsch for the instruction and edification of the members of the Mennonite churches. Mr. Horsch, who died shortly before the book was published, was for many years associated with the Mennonite Publishing House of Scottsdale, Pennsylvania, and spent most of his long life investigating the early history of his co-religionists. This book crowns his many briefer studies. It will be welcomed by the historical fraternity everywhere, for it clears up many a foggy issue which has obscured the record of the first modern champions of religious toleration.

The material is organized in three parts: the medieval background, the rise and growth of the Mennonite church (canton by canton, country by country, and *pari passu* leader by leader), and the life and faith of the early Mennonites. The scheme involves a certain amount of repetition, since the story of the movement in each canton and country is carried down to recent times; but the gain in clearness of exposition is adequate compensation. The leaders of the evangelical Anabaptist movement and the men who have often been confused with the leaders—for example, Denck, Hübmaier, and Schwenckfeld—as well as Melchior Hofmann, John of Leyden, and others of the lunatic fringe of Anabaptism, are clearly and dispassionately sketched.

The author regards the descent of the Swiss evangelical Anabaptists—the Swiss Brethren—from the Waldenses as probable. They first appear in Zurich,

in the days when Zwingli was beginning his work there. They separated themselves from the Roman church before Zurich became Protestant. They were resolved "to exemplify apostolic Christianity" (p. 83) and to "leave others undisturbed in respect to their faith" (p. 62). But their insistence upon adult baptism as practiced in the New Testament record caused Zwingli to break with them, for he regarded infant baptism as essential to the existence of the state church, which was to include all citizens, whereas the Swiss Brethren believed that the New Testament required them to separate themselves "from the world," that is, from the mass of the citizens. The atrocious persecutions which the Brethren underwent in Zurich, Bern, and the other cantons and countries in which they sought refuge are briefly set forth. They were beheaded, drowned, burned, or sold as galley slaves by Protestant and Catholic authorities alike. The Swiss persecutions moderated after a hundred years or so but were ended only by the French Revolution. The Dutch, pioneers in the practice of toleration, abandoned persecution in 1581.

The first leader of the Mennonite church in the Netherlands was Obbe Philips. His emancipation from the fantastic views of Melchior Hofmann, a left-wing Anabaptist—from whose teachings John of Leyden stemmed—began when Hofmann's prophecies were falsified by events and was completed by the study of the Scriptures. His views, independently arrived at, were substantially the same as those of the Swiss Brethren (p. 183). His followers were for a time known as Obbenites, but the group merged with the followers of the great apostle, Menno Simons (1496-1561), whose career is sketched in the twenty-third chapter and whose eminent deeds and writings have given the name Mennonite to the whole evangelical Anabaptist connection from its beginnings in Zurich.

The chief reason for the fierce efforts to crush the Mennonites is said to have been the belief that dissidence in religion endangers the state. Yet no evidence of disloyalty to any government or of conspiracy against it can be produced against the Mennonites prior to the Münster uprising of 1533-35, which was the work of John of Leyden and others of the lunatic fringe of Anabaptism and which was not countenanced by the Mennonites. Hence the executions of hundreds of Mennonites prior to 1533 cannot be justified by John of Leyden's enormities. It would be quite as reasonable, this reviewer believes, to condemn the Franciscans because of the aberrancies of the left-wing Spirituals as to condemn the Mennonites on the basis of the Münster affair. And similarly the reviewer is of the opinion that the animadversions on the Anabaptists in the Confession of Augsburg, 1530, are indiscriminating. Paraphrasing the cry of Heine's "fair Briton" upon the exit of Shylock, he would exclaim, "By Heaven, the Mennonites are wronged!"

The tenets and practices of the Mennonites are explained in Part III. For example, they asserted the freedom of the will and rejected the dominant predestination. The Dortrecht Confession of 1632, the best-written and most concise of the Mennonite Confessions, was first published in English in 1712 (p. 247). The

English text can be conveniently found in Melvin Gingerich's *The Mennonites in Iowa*, reviewed in this journal (XLV, 665).

The part played by Mennonite ideas in the promotion of toleration in Cromwell's England and later, which Troeltsch stresses in his *Bedeutung des Protestantismus*, is not touched upon. The derivation of the great Baptist denomination from the Mennonites is just mentioned in the appendix. The wanderings of the refugee Mennonites in western Germany, Moravia, Prussia, Wallachia, and Russia, their settlement in Pennsylvania and then in other parts of this country, Canada, South America, and elsewhere, their eminence in agriculture which won them favor everywhere and led Catherine II to locate a group of them in the Ukraine, the sufferings of the descendants of this group in the first World War, the varying terms of the exemption of the Mennonites—conscientious objectors—from combatant services, the extinction of the Mennonite groups which abandoned pacifism, the deportation of the Mennonites of Lemburg, Galicia, to northern Prussia by Hitler—these and other significant matters are handled with objectivity and an entire absence of denunciation.

Dr. Gingerich, in the book mentioned above, says that the Mennonites of the world number about four hundred thousand. These harshly treated stepchildren of the Reformation—to borrow Troeltsch's characterization—have no reason to be ashamed of their services to mankind. John Horsch's book, a credit to him and to them, has a sober and durable binding. It may be a symbol.

University of Wisconsin

G. C. SELLERY

SOVIET RUSSIA'S FOREIGN POLICY, 1939-1942. By *David J. Dallin*.

Translated by *Leon Dennen*. [The Amasa Stone Mather Memorial Publication Fund.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1942. Pp. x, 452. \$3.75.)

THE foreign policy of the Soviet Union is presented in this excellent book in the fullest possible detail for the period between the disappearance of an independent Czechoslovakia in the early spring of 1939 and the failure of the German armies to capture Stalingrad in the late autumn of 1942. The author is well qualified for this undertaking; he has not attempted to inject any political viewpoint as a test of judgment; and he has sifted a great quantity of material, ranging from such documents as have been issued (none coming from Russian sources), through the columns of the outstanding Russian, European, and American newspapers, even to an article in the *Ladies' Home Journal*. There is, of course, still a shortage of authoritative information, which the author frequently indicates in the course of his narrative.

The trend of Russian foreign policy during these three years makes distressing reading. It was a policy full of paralyzing suspicion of other nations, which caused them to suspect Russian intentions equally. During the negotiations between Great Britain and the Soviet Union before the outbreak of war in 1939 the Russians

remained so skeptical of British reliability, always demanding more after fresh British concessions, that agreement was impossible. In 1907 similar distrust had been overcome. There are indications, however, that Stalin himself preferred the agreement that finally came with Germany on August 23, 1939. The motives for this preference remain uncertain, but the opportunities which war in western Europe presented to the Soviet Union were quickly seized upon. Two decades of untempered criticism of the wicked imperialism of capitalist powers were promptly forgotten in the year of predatory activity against all the smaller, weaker states along the Russian western frontier. This extension of Soviet control certainly ensured war with Germany, and so deprived the Soviet Union of possible friendships that it contributed considerably to the passivity of Russian policy with which the approach of that war was faced. The author points out many of the continuing differences between the other United Nations and the Soviet Union, as well as the Russian distrust, demands, and secretiveness, which hinder joint war efforts and threaten the harmony of a peace settlement.

Precisely because this account of Soviet Russia's foreign policy reveals its too often unpleasant methods, its misjudgments, and its "realism," a wide circulation for the book is desirable. It probably will not attain this, however, because the material is undiluted for popular assimilation. The translation is well enough done, and there are only a few minor mistakes, misprints, and variance in dates. Some foreign names and spellings might better have appeared in English forms, and a lack of detail, both in the index and on four maps, impairs their usefulness. Some readers will surely qualify the position ascribed to Russia in European affairs as set forth in the "Introduction" and the degree of the Russian fear of an inevitable war with Germany already felt by the end of 1939 (compare pp. 126-130 and pp. 153-159). Whether Russian policy is really "clear" or is still a "riddle," it is certain to remain for a long time to come a theme with vigorously divergent interpretations.

*Elmira, New York*

ROGERS P. CHURCHILL

## American History

THE RISE OF AMERICAN CIVILIZATION. By *Charles A. Beard* and *Mary R. Beard*. Volume IV, THE AMERICAN SPIRIT: A STUDY OF THE IDEA OF CIVILIZATION IN THE UNITED STATES. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1942. Pp. vii, 696. \$5.00.)

OUT of the stress and strain of the Revolutionary era which ushered in the nineteenth century there came a new word, a symbol for "an all-embracing formula of life and purpose." This word "civilization" was to become an oft-used portion of the vocabulary of many of those who thought in terms of world-views or over-

all concepts. Quite naturally it intrigued the philosophically minded historians. Men like Guizot, Buckle, and Bury surveyed the processes of social evolution and saw therein social progress, or, as it began to be called, the onward march of civilization. This concept induced them to devise a dynamics, embracing a formula representing a conflict of forces, forces of barbarism warring against forces of progress toward the good, the true, and the beautiful. Such historians sought to demonstrate the dominance of the latter by narrow margins, safe though sometimes almost indiscernible. They were firm in their faith in the ultimate triumph of civilization over barbarism.

The victory of the allied cause in the war of 1914-18 had much to do with stimulating a new belief in the invincibility of civilization and gave historians a greater urge to write history along broader lines. University and college leaders sought to guide the minds of their students to embrace the broad vistas of civilizations, and historical writing responded. It was about then that Mr. and Mrs. Beard undertook to write the history of the United States in these terms. In 1927 they published in two volumes *The Rise of American Civilization*. This work was broadly conceived and included all phases of American life, but its predominant theme was set in the frame of reference of political economy, *i.e.*, national policy and folkways dominated by the processes of life-giving production as illustrated by the interpretive formula which they adopted. The first volume was subtitled *The Agricultural Era* and the second *The Industrial Era*. This work ended with an optimistic note quite in the spirit of that particular day.

Within the subsequent decade much happened to raise doubts and to stimulate searching thought. The Beards watched with keen observation the panic and its complex aftermath, and in 1939 they published a third volume finished the preceding winter, before the clouds of the coming outbreak were too ominous. As the somewhat cryptic title *America in Mid-Passage* implied, the United States had come to a point in its development where it was apparent that something of the early vitality of the young nation was lost and in maturity certain decisions must be made regarding future policy. The implication was that less reliance could be placed upon thoughtless confidence and more demand must be made upon the nation's capacity for thoughtful planning. The United States must reconsider the nature of democracy.

In working out the philosophy of these volumes the Beards had been giving constant attention to the meaning of the term "civilization," which they were expounding, and as the world was plunging into a war to preserve civilization they planned a final volume to complete their analysis of the *Rise of American Civilization*. They had been impressed by the great difficulty in writing the history of civilization, a difficulty which had been detected nearly a hundred years before them by Guizot. He had confessed that he had written only of the "exterior events of the visible and social world" and that he had been unable to write of the "interior world also—the intellectual and moral advance of individuals." This

most difficult task the Beards set themselves as the culmination of their work. They had brilliantly described the exterior events in the rise of American civilization; they would now seek to describe the interior world, *The American Spirit*.

The first three chapters of this latest volume are in reality an introduction to the four volumes and explain the history and nature of the concept "civilization." They supply a frame of reference for the whole work which one intending to read the series might well consider before he begins the first volume. The remainder of the book is a history of the growth in self-consciousness of the people of the United States, of their thoughts about themselves. Devoted from the beginning to concepts of progress and perfection, they have thought of themselves as advance agents of civilization, the word which has become a synonym for their optimism, for their commitment to the social principle, for their onward march toward a better society where it may be increasingly possible to realize the good, the true, and the beautiful.

The authors have read voluminously in the writings of those Americans who have thought in these terms and have summarized seriatim, chronologically, the ideas of the many such who have published their views. By this means they demonstrate the almost constant strengthening of the concept of the United States as a great laboratory for experiment in the means of advancing civilization. They find, however, that the advance, though steady, has not been uninterrupted. Two tendencies have thrown obstacles in the way and endangered this advance. The first of these has been the belief in individualism and the pessimism which its excesses and anti-social abuses stimulated. The other is the desire to assume responsibility for the progress of world civilization, to bury the American idea in an internationalism which oversimplifies and blinds itself to the intricate antagonisms and differences which long histories of social division have produced. The Beards are impressed with the unique character of American civilization and feel strongly that it can only make its best contribution to world civilization if it maintains its independence. It must not merge and sink subservient to alien civilizations which have not its spirit or its vitality. The *American Spirit* is distinct, not a unit similar to others in a universal civilization.

These historians and all those who attempt to write the history of man's thinking are confronted with many difficulties. Foremost is the fact that so little of man's thought is ever recorded. How far the relatively few thoughts that are preserved in print represent the intellectual activity of society will always be a matter of dispute. Also, no two scholars would choose the same selections as representative. How far it is valid to take obscure pamphleteers and quote them as representative of trends of thought is another matter of dispute. These difficulties the Beards have labored with diligently; their answers to these questions, like those made by anyone else, are highly subjective and bound to raise objection from others. The Beards are notable figures in the world of affairs; they have deep-seated convictions which they do not attempt to disguise. Their views on



the international position of the United States have made Mr. Beard the center of controversy. These views are not excluded from these pages and have already evoked the expected criticisms.

Finally the most fundamental challenge to the thesis of the *American Spirit* is the question whether national intellectual independence can be maintained or is now being maintained in a world so confused by the devastating implications of modern technology and the resurgence of barbarism. For this war is confusing to all thought. Its impact caused even these authors in the final days of their writing to add a note in their last paragraph which does not yield easily to understanding. War, they conclude is the "one invariable" in human history. "As the efficiency of war . . . depends upon some degree of civilization . . . the future of civilization in the United States has at least this much assurance." This paragraph may mean that they believe that only the most spiritually united and creatively efficient peoples stand a chance of survival. The four volumes are a challenge to all who are concerned with the nature and future of civilization. They are likewise the autobiography of two strong and fearless minds.

University of Pennsylvania

ROY F. NICHOLS

THE BRITISH EMPIRE BEFORE THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By Lawrence Henry Gipson, Professor of History and Head of the Department of History and Government, Lehigh University. Volume V, ZONES OF INTERNATIONAL FRICTION: THE GREAT LAKES FRONTIER, CANADA, THE WEST INDIES, INDIA, 1748-1754. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1942. Pp. xlviii, 352, lix. \$5.00.)

THIS fifth volume of Professor Gipson's *The British Empire before the American Revolution* completes the survey of zones of international friction started in Volume IV. Beginning with the Florida frontier and spanning the far-flung arc of the Mississippi and Ohio valleys, Volume IV ended with the collapse of the English trans-Appalachian movement, which, to use Professor Gipson's words, was forced by 1754 to "wait upon the issue of an armed struggle that gradually assumes world proportions." Volume V opens with two chapters on Canada. The first—"Les Habitants"—describes the French-Canadian society of the St. Lawrence Valley; the second, the thrust of French missionary and fur-trading enterprises through the Great Lakes region. One could have wished in the second an adequate treatment of La Vérendrye's rivalry with the Hudson's Bay Company. Though not of decisive importance in the international scene, it illustrates in its own way one of the main points in which the author is interested—the contrast between French expansion with its close relation to government and English expansion with its essentially commercial character. These two chapters are excellent, however, in their vivid analysis of French Canada's charm and of its peculiar combination of strength and weakness—a strength rooted in seignior

and parish, a weakness springing from economic instability and the unhealthy effects of paternalism and monopoly. Moving south of the St. Lawrence, chapter III then examines the critical and significant position of the Six Nations Indians in French-English trade and diplomacy, and the stage is thus set for two chapters on the Albany Congress, which occupies a place of central importance in the author's consideration.

By placing the Albany Congress against so sweeping a background as that provided in earlier chapters, Professor Gipson has made abundantly clear the full significance of the hopes which inspired its deliberations and of the failure which later frustrated its decisions. The problem was one of high statesmanship, nothing less than the pressing need of "a new and better political order for English-speaking people in North America." The initiative for its solution came from America, and the responsibility for failure rests primarily on the forces of particularism in the thirteen colonies. These conclusions, supported by evidence which cannot be surveyed in a short review, have very far-reaching implications, the full import of which will doubtless be made apparent in Professor Gipson's later volumes. Of particular interest is his emphasis on the vote of the congress in favor of implementing a plan of union by act of parliament.

The significance of this decision of the Albany Congress seems to have escaped most students of the constitutional history of the old British Empire. . . . The vote represents the consensus of opinion of the most representative and, all in all, the most capable and politically experienced body of colonials from a majority of the thirteen colonies that ever met in conference prior to the Stamp Act Congress. It is evident that most of them believed not only that Parliament possessed the authority to alter the basic constitutional arrangements within the Empire—something that was later sweepingly denied here in America—but that it was natural and proper that Parliament should do so when circumstances so required (pp. 131-32).

It may not be irrelevant to remark that the history of Canada provides interesting corroborative evidence in this connection, the Confederation of 1867 being brought about by an act of parliament on the initiative of colonial leaders who themselves framed the act and recognized in it one of the essential means of overcoming the forces of particularism.

Following the chapters on the Albany Congress, three more zones of friction are discussed: the land of the Acadians, the "neutral" islands of the Caribbeans, and India. The chapter on the Acadians, like those on Canada, is excellent. To this reviewer, though he is not competent to give an expert opinion on this part of the book, the treatment of India seems less successful than other chapters in preventing details from overshadowing the main points. Chapter x now surveys the negotiations of 1748-55. In an effort to save the peace they ranged over the entire field of contentious problems which by this time were almost world-wide in scope. As in earlier sections, Professor Gipson, after analyzing the evidence, does

not hesitate to express his conclusion. "The chief responsibility for this appeal [to force], it would appear, must lie at the door of the French ministry" (p. 352).

The final chapter of "Summarization" restates the author's conclusions and in particular emphasizes the contrasting patterns which can be seen everywhere in the development and policies of the French and British empires.

In truth, the eighteenth-century British Empire was a business man's world . . . in which only too frequently private interest, if not held to be superior to, at least crowded out, public interest . . . a world, moreover, of literate people, of newspapers and pamphlets, of freedom of the press—after the Zenger trial—of freedom of discussion, a world of dissenters, of varied religious faiths, of contrasting social attitudes, of growing tolerance toward those not like-minded. . . . On the other hand the French Empire presents a far different pattern. As in the case of the Spanish Empire there was uniformity of design with not only the concentration of authority in the Crown but continuous exercise of that authority. . . . The world of New France was not a world of industry and commerce but really a world of officials, of *décrets*, of *ordonnances*, of King's soldiers, a world in which religious monopoly and trade monopoly were incompatibly linked together, a world without newspapers, without a press, without open discussion of public issues, a world of suppression of thought in which governmental policy affecting the most vital interests of the people was carried out without their consent expressed either directly or indirectly (pp. 341-43).

In part this is an old theme, but Professor Gipson is illuminating it with a wealth of argument and evidence. With the completion of five volumes of his series one can realize the breadth of the canvas on which he is working. Already he has added perspective to the background of the Revolution, and by the time he reaches the critical years following 1763 we suspect that he will have made it apparent that the causes of the Revolution cannot be discussed merely in terms of the incidence of tariff regulations or the rivalry of competing economic interests, important as these are. Historical scholarship will not have made clear the meaning of the Revolution until it has revealed the full magnitude of the ties which united as well as the issues which divided the English-speaking world. To that great and worth-while task Professor Gipson is making a notable contribution.

*University of Toronto*

GEORGE W. BROWN

THE FLAG OF THE UNITED STATES. By *Milo Milton Quaife*. (New York: Grosset and Dunlap. 1942. Pp. xiv, 210. \$2.00.)

THERE could be no more appropriate moment for an authentic history of the American flag. The legends concerning its origin have been comfortably accepted by most Americans; in a recent popular poll on the women most important in our history Betsy Ross placed near the top along with Martha Washington, Clara Barton, and Jane Addams. Dr. Quaife has undertaken to demonstrate the mythical character of many of the stories to be found in recent manuals put out by groups which should be more concerned about presenting the truth: the Boy Scouts of

America, the United States Flag Association, and even the United States Marine Corps. He deplores the fact that gaps in the record have given rise to so much legend and draws on the records we do have to show on what a poor foundation such tales rest.

But Dr. Quaife does not content himself with pointing out the misinformation that is commonly handed out with regard to the flag. He has devoted himself with meticulous care to discovering the facts concerning the various flags that have been flown over American soil or carried by our armed forces on land or sea until the adoption of the stars and stripes in the form in which we know it. His account is carefully documented wherever records are obtainable, and he is careful to make no claims for which evidence is lacking. The colored illustrations are helpful.

The book was first published serially last August in the *Detroit Free Press*, and the author has tried without great success to adopt a popular style. Since he has such a good story to tell, it is too bad he cannot present it more interestingly. It is unfortunate, too, that Dr. Quaife states theories and debatable opinions with the same air of final authority that he displays in stating facts, although he might find it hard to document them. While not perhaps probable, still it is quite possible that a postwar world may see a still higher type of social organization than the "sovereign state," or that there might conceivably be occasions when a man's "primary allegiance" is not to his flag. Dr. Quaife is at his best when he is giving us the factual information for which he has delved so tirelessly, not when he is moralizing on the flag's symbolism. There he falls into the same errors for which he criticizes others.

It is to be hoped that everyone concerned with teaching about our flag to either young or old will have access to this useful little book. Perhaps its greatest contribution is its insistence on the values inherent in seeking the truth as opposed to the careless acceptance of hastily gathered misinformation.

*Spokane, Washington*

RUTH WEST

THE NEGRO IN COLONIAL NEW ENGLAND, 1620-1776. By *Lorenzo Johnston Greene*, Professor of History, Lincoln University in Missouri. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Number 494.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1942. Pp. 404. \$4.50.)

It is not probable that any significant additions will be made to the body of facts here presented by Dr. Greene. A formidable bibliography of nearly twenty-five pages, containing diaries, letters, memoirs, sermons, pamphlets, public documents, newspapers, and a wide variety of secondary works, leaves little hope that there remains any important unexplored material. The first seventy pages summarize the history of the New England slave trade, including both the carrying trade of New England masters and the trade in New England. This summary is

followed by an excellent review of all available material on the Negro population and a chapter on the occupations in which Negroes engaged. The slave codes of the Northern colonies, Negro crimes and customary punishments, the religion, the family relations, the education, amusements, and scale of living of the colonial Negro are a few of the many topics on which the author has gleaned material.

The resulting picture is of a small group better trained and more versatile than were the plantation Negroes. Some members of the group filled positions of responsibility, and many of them acquired considerable technical skill. Indeed, as artisans they occasionally roused the antagonism of white craftsmen. Dr. Greene surmises that Negro slaves in the colonial period secured a type of job much higher than that available to black workers in the same area today (p. 112). The sum of the author's facts suggests that for the most part Negroes shared the lives of the whites. If they suffered harsh punishments, so did the white men who violated the accepted codes. If opportunities for education were meager, they were likewise meager for all and many agencies were at work to increase them for both blacks and whites.

The small proportion of Negroes in the population and the close association of Negroes and white men not only tended to make the conditions of living much the same but also accelerated the adaptation of the Negro to the customs of the dominant population. A study bearing the title given to Dr. Greene's work might with equal pertinence deal with the condition of the Negro in New England or with the effects of the presence of the Negro on the customs and institutions of the white population. In regard to the second of these topics the author states that the New England Negroes influenced in many ways "the economic, political, social and religious institutions of their masters" (p. 316), yet the tangible evidence of such influence is scant. It is easy to show that the carrying trade in slaves was of immense importance to the economic life of New England. It is more difficult to maintain that the slave trade in the colonies had significant effect. And it is still more difficult to demonstrate effects resulting from the presence of the alien race or from the existence of slavery in these colonies. The value of Dr. Greene's material lies in its contribution to our knowledge of the conditions of life of the New England Negro, not in an important increase in understanding of the effects of the Negro or of slavery on New England life. Perhaps it is safe to conclude that these effects were too slight to be discerned and measured.

Wellesley College

ELIZABETH DONNAN

HISTORY OF AMERICAN CONGREGATIONALISM. By *Gaius Glenn Atkins* and *Frederick L. Fagley*. (Boston and Chicago: Pilgrim Press. 1942. Pp. 432. \$2.00.)

THIS informative and comprehensive book shows American Congregationalism evolving out of the "obscure sectarian ferments" of the English Reformation,

describes its expansion, and estimates its contribution to national thought and its place in national life. Both a history and a handbook, it is more than either, and true to the spirit of its inheritance it devotes less space to doctrine than to history and description. It is not a simple narrative for the uninitiated, and some acknowledged and unavoidable repetitions and some confusion result from divided authorship and the difficulty of the subject.

The book falls into two fairly equal and distinct parts—a history of Congregationalism and an account of the way in which it has achieved the consciousness and structural organization of a denomination national in extent. The latter half appeals especially to those interested in the practical working of the order but goes beyond description of boards and committees to the influences producing them.

Two types of English dissenters—Pilgrims and Puritans—coming to America developed the “New England Way” of church life. “Cleared” both of the disorders of Independency and of the magistracy of Presbyterianism, American Congregationalism succeeded in uniting its two contradictory elements, the freedom of local churches gathered by voluntary agreement or covenant and the larger denominational life inherent in the fellowship among independent bodies. The history of this and other “entanglements,” civil and religious, is traced from the earliest colonial synods to the present.

The authors draw freely on the studies of others and in particular design to continue and supplement the work of Williston Walker. Both are ministers and experienced writers; Dr. Atkins is also an educator and Dr. Fagley an official and administrator in the denomination. Familiar not only with their subject but with the methods and equipment of historical research, they sometimes use their material more casually than would conventional historians, references often being given thus—“so Dexter” and “all this from.” Favorite words and expressions appear frequently, such as “spacious,” “marginal,” and “passed out of the picture,” the latter occurring three times in one paragraph. Phrases like “probably patient parishioners,” “the unchristian superiority complexes of the clergy,” and “the godly integration of real estate and worship” through ownership of pews enliven the style.

The wide scope of the work, the discussion of interesting questions, large and small, the accompanying notes, appendixes, and bibliography make this a useful, important, and welcome addition to the library of Congregationalism and a worthy example for historians of other denominations.

*New Haven, Connecticut*

MARY HEWITT MITCHELL

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON. By *Ellen Hart Smith*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1942. Pp. x, 340. \$3.75.)

THIS biography of the “First Citizen” of pre-Revolution Maryland provides much pleasant reading, and, lest this observation be interpreted by the more



studious as a form of mild disparagement, the reviewer hastens to add that numerous citations point to diligent use of the family records.

If the earlier biographers have emphasized the political figure, Miss Smith has portrayed the man whose life span covered a century less five years. In the colonial period one is especially attracted to the author's description of Maryland's social-minded capital. Educated in France, the youthful Carroll had apparently accepted the current European estimate of America as "a barbarous country" and its people as "an uncultivated and insolent rabble." On his return, however, he found Annapolis "a miniature London."

Although Miss Smith constantly refers to her subject as "the richest man in America"—a statement the reviewer accepts on faith for lack of definite proof—we learn that Charles Carroll had pet, if not petty, peculiarities, including what seem to have been close dealings with debtors and renters. On the other hand, he was most generous in providing handsomely for his children, and we have this trait to thank for the happy lines of "Homewood."

The reviewer would like to dwell upon many matters which have been graphically—and accurately—brought to our attention, one of which has applications to the world today. By way of introduction it may be said that throughout his career the master of "Carrollton" showed the broad tolerance that was characteristic of George and Cecil (Cecilius to the author) Calvert, respectively the projector and the founder of Maryland. On the other hand, because of his strong Irish strain and the oft-told tales of brutal British rule, we encounter a pleasant surprise on learning of his statesmanlike recognition of the value of an understanding with England as the Old World bulwark of political liberty and democratic institutions. Hence, when faced with the menace of that militant dictator Napoleon Bonaparte, Carroll wrote, June 23, 1803:

I am of opinion it would be good policy to unite with Great Britain against France and her allies, seize upon all the country east of the Mississippi, and under cover of the British fleet land 30,000 men in the Province of Yucatan, march into Mexico, then to Peru, and to declare the Spanish colonies independent, and their independence to be guaranteed by Great Britain and the United States. If we enter the war I am not for doing things by halves.

Miss Smith's disclosure of Carroll's plan of collaboration with Great Britain suggests the thought that Thomas Jefferson may have been familiar with the concept of his contemporary when he recommended marriage with "the British fleet and nation," not only to block the designs of Napoleon but also, at a later period, those of the autocrats of the Holy Alliance.

Occasionally, in the field of general history, the author is less felicitous. While reasserting the Maryland claim to pre-eminence with respect to religious toleration, she follows the lead of local writers of the nineteenth century who based the claim on what they were pleased to call "The Toleration Act," meaning the Act Con-



cerning Religion of 1649. This statute seriously abridged the full measure of liberty of conscience that had been enjoyed in the province from its founding in 1634. One of its provisions imposed death and confiscation upon those who denied the Trinitarian doctrine. The author says of Cecil Calvert that "Against the intolerant backdrop of his own century he assumes heroic proportions." The statement is quite correct, but it may not properly be based upon the act in question, although supported by quoting those portions thereof guaranteeing freedom of worship to all Trinitarians; for, as above noted, the act contained limiting provisions which were repudiated when Calvert and his supporters, both Catholic and Protestant, regained control after the Puritan interruption.

*Baltimore, Maryland*

MATTHEW PAGE ANDREWS

MR. RUTLEDGE OF SOUTH CAROLINA. By *Richard Barry*. (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 1942. Pp. ix, 430. \$3.75.)

BIOGRAPHERS have attended little to the Lower South. Its history, particularly in the formative period, wants the illustration that only lifelike portraits of individuals can supply. John Rutledge was an active member of the Stamp Act Congress, Continental Congresses, and Federal Convention, governor of South Carolina in critical stages of the Revolution, chief justice of his state and the United States. The only good account of him that has appeared in this century is R. L. Meriwether's article in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, but materials for a longer work exist. By rescuing what is credible from the older sketches, assembling the numerous references to Rutledge in other printed works, and examining available manuscripts in his hand, an estimate of his principles, aims, and character can be reached. It matters not whether the result show Rutledge great or small, provided he be visible—something more or less than a hero of the Revolution and a sample of his class.

Mr. Barry has had "opportunity to peruse above seven thousand manuscripts, more than two thousand old newspapers, above three hundred books of original records, and the volumes listed in the bibliography," which covers ten pages. The outcome is a spirited and very readable biography, inadequately documented in a discursive appendix. Though light is thrown on some previously unstudied phases of Rutledge's career, notably his private practice as an attorney, the book is mainly an amplified narrative of his best-known activities with new interpretations of their significance. Other admirers have claimed that Rutledge wrote the Federal Constitution, but not that an invisible government, dominated by Rutledge, ruled South Carolina before the Revolution; that a memorial of the Stamp Act Congress, written by Rutledge, persuaded George III to have the Stamp Act repealed; that Rutledge invented and secured adoption of a new military art that won the Revolutionary War. The evidence in the appendix supporting these and other novel deductions, though often thin, is neither manufactured nor irrelevant.

One of Mr. Barry's theories is substantially that history's neglect of Rutledge derives from Rutledge's indifference to history—a mature, considered conviction of the futility of fame. Neither is this biography written to please historians. Mr. Barry cites authority only for what he considers disputable points, and citations give no page references. He puts in imaginary conversations and frankly admits that other details rest on conjecture. Besides these tinsel ornaments the work is encrusted with minor errors. They do not invalidate the major contentions but critics will make merry with them, for Mr. Barry is as bold in attack as in defense and few of Rutledge's contemporaries come off unscathed. As for Rutledge, he stood for no political principles because he was “a pragmatist, an empiricist,” unswayed by theory, contemptuous of learning. His character was “totally selfless,” and his sole aim the welfare of the groups to which he belonged and that entrusted him with power. The portrait is consistent but scarcely credible. Now that Mr. Barry has called attention to the subject, perhaps another will be painted by a more professional hand.

*Brooklyn College*

ST. JULIEN RAVENEL CHILDS

THE CONNECTICUT WITS. By *Leon Howard*, Northwestern University. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1943. Pp. xiii, 453. \$4.50.)

THIS is a work in which American scholars may take pride. It is solid, learned, pungent, and illuminating. That a few historians will quarrel with Professor Howard's preferences may be anticipated. That competent literary critics will stumble on flaws in detail is, of course, possible. That any serious student of our national character will fail to profit from this analysis of the American state of mind between the Stamp Act and the Era of Good Feeling is wholly improbable.

In his unusual treatment of the “Connecticut,” or “Hartford,” Wits, Professor Howard has undertaken “to fill a gap in American literary history by telling the story of their careers as writers, rather than as men of affairs, from their common beginnings before the Revolution” to their extraordinarily different ends. Selecting John Trumbull, Timothy Dwight, David Humphreys, and Joel Barlow—the four oldest and best-known members of this constellation of minor Utopians and satirists—the author has studied to penetrate their minds and hearts, and, in so doing, to learn something of the American intellect in a day when its political achievements were monumental, its accomplishments in other fields exceedingly disappointing. This has meant the survey of no less than seventy-five books and a great number of miscellaneous compositions; a painstaking critical analysis of style and of matters; the integration of the Wits with their social environment and with each other; finally, no small amount of shrewd observation on the very human and erratic development of each of these influential Yankee careerists. The story, which is organized in four parts, begins with a stimulating study of Yale College, 1763-78, the school of the poets. Part II, en-

titled "The Flowery Road to Fame," shows how each of the ambitious young poets first started to gallop to fame in a vehicle called literature. Here Professor Howard has, by tremendous industry and what is evidently an exceptionally delicate ear, laid bare the tangled skein of their intellectual indebtedness. How these aspiring young men tried to hew out a new path to greatness in America—how with matter out of Milton or manner after Pope, with ideas out of Locke and figures of speech tailored according to Lord Kames—they assaulted the admiration of their contemporaries, makes a revealing and ironic tale. Part III finds three of the "Wicked Wits" achieving an undeserved reputation by exaggerated satire at the expense of comparatively innocent parties in Connecticut politics, while the needle of Timothy Dwight's being begins to swing toward his true calling, that of teaching, at Greenfield Hill. Thereafter, the four characters part company almost completely—Humphreys losing his muse in diplomacy and the benevolent improvement of American sheep, Barlow becoming a democratic citizen-philosopher after the French model, and President Dwight achieving the confident mastery of students and parents alike in his beloved land of steady habits. The book ends with an "Epilogue: Blazed Trails," in which the author makes the pertinent suggestion that perhaps we have dismissed the Wits too easily. For if their literary work was at least as bad as advertised, their careers and their ideas were indicative of certain American attitudes and astonishingly prophetic of later and more successful performances on both sides of the Atlantic.

The style of this book is thoughtful and full of force. Professor Howard has managed to condense an extraordinary weight of information into clear and logical prose, about which there plays on occasion an irony that would have awakened the respectful attention of John Trumbull himself. Professor Howard declares himself a passionate believer in the value of history *if thoroughly mastered*. What can American historians learn from his mastery of these literary materials? The author does not presume to do more than pluck gently at our sleeve or occasionally point. To all this the present reviewer would like to add an observation, self-evident to literary scholars but by ordinary historians too long overlooked. By their own work the Wits prove—do they not?—that Americans were, in the Revolutionary period, still an imitative and belated society. How widely these four poets ranged, how much they borrowed, and how unoriginal they managed to remain is really astonishing.

In place of footnotes Professor Howard has appended a checklist of the writings of each man, published and unpublished, together with ten pages of valuable bibliographical discussion. The University of Chicago Press has issued the whole in a most attractive format, and Northwestern University aided in the work of publication by a grant. All are to be congratulated for their part. But perhaps it is Professor Howard's courage and critical ability in handling American ideas in a philosophic way that constitutes the greatest achievement.

*Yale University*

GEORGE WILSON PIERSON

SEA LANES IN WARTIME: THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE, 1775-1942.

By Robert Greenhalgh Albion and Jennie Barnes Pope. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1942. Pp. 367. \$3.50.)

THE events of the last twelve months have focused attention, as never before in this century, on the importance of marine transportation to Americans. In spite of the great strides in the carrying capacity of the airplane, the ship remains the most important means of oversea transportation of men and goods, and the wartime problems of shipping are therefore of paramount interest.

Professor and Mrs. Albion have given us a very complete historical study of American marine transportation in time of war, beginning with the Revolution and carrying the narrative to the latter part of 1942. It is important, perhaps, to emphasize the point that the authors have chosen to treat their subject from the economic, rather than from a political or technological, standpoint. This is most reasonable; for economic factors control shipping far more than purely political, or technological, matters in times of peace, and this has had a very definite influence on war shipping. In shipping, economic conditions lead to technological changes, while political affairs are usually subordinate, except so far as they bring about the changes from peace to war. The only excuse for so obvious a statement is that the numerous histories of shipping appearing in past years have generally given their readers an impression that technological and political matters affected shipping to a supreme degree.

The first part of *Sea Lanes in Wartime* covers the period ending with the Civil War and the Alabama Claims. The authors have traced the various trades in wartime during this period and have dealt with the basic maritime strategy of the times. Such matters as the ups and downs of the "neutral" trade during the French Revolution, the quasi-war with France, and the incidents leading to the Embargo and Non-intercourse Act preceding the War of 1812 are described in detail. The ruinous results of the British blockade during the War of 1812 are also shown. This is followed by an account of piracy, so far as American merchantmen were concerned, with contemporary narratives of attacks as well as with a general outline of the whole business during the early nineteenth century. The final chapter of the first portion of the book deals with the Civil War period, pointing out the complete reversal of American policy in regard to "freedom of the seas" and blockades. In this chapter a good deal of attention is given to the Confederate raiders and to the Northern blockade of Southern ports. Also there is a running account of the Alabama Claims and of the selling of American ships abroad to escape possible Confederate attacks.

The second portion of the book is of great contemporary interest, as it is concerned with the period between World War I and 1942. The earlier chapters having accounted for the decay in the power of the American merchant marine, the chapters in this portion deal with the attempts to rebuild our merchant marine during the first World War and the years following. Since this brings the authors

to the unfinished business of the present time, they have avoided making many conclusions. This is wise. Nevertheless, the narrative of these years is of very great interest to a reader. There is an excellent discussion of the factors affecting modern wartime trade that should be read by everyone. A compact history of German submarine warfare is given. The moves of the powers at war, as they altered trade conditions or sea lanes, are well illustrated. The shipbuilding policy of our government is described in some detail. Altogether, a very sound foundation is laid for the understanding of our wartime shipping problems as they continue to develop, and for this the authors are to be congratulated.

In so technical a matter as shipping it is most difficult for authors to avoid small errors; fortunately there are none of great importance in this book. On page 25 there is a description of "letters-of-marque" which might lead a reader to suppose that their license was different from that of privateers, whereas the licenses were identical. On page 50 the Revolutionary *Reprisal* is mistakenly called a frigate. Page 112 speaks of Humphreys as the designer of the *Constitution*, *President*, and *United States*; this is a controversial statement at least. The failure of the old Shipping Board's wooden ship program, mentioned on page 329, might have been discussed at greater length. From the short statement in the book, an uninformed reader might suppose the failure was due to inherent weakness in wooden shipbuilding, whereas it was due to inherent weakness of the Shipping Board's policy. This same weakness in policy is to be seen in government wooden shipbuilding today: improper design, specification, and allocation of contracts. The developments in barges and schooners, referred to on page 339, are not quite so accomplished a fact as the text indicates. The use of small fast ships in the Atlantic overseas trades, as opposed to slow convoys, would have been a worthy subject for the authors' attention.

Cambridge, Maryland

HOWARD I. CHAPELLE

THE VALLEY OF VIRGINIA IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, 1763-1789. By *Freeman H. Hart*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1942. Pp. xii, 223. \$3.50.)

THIS thorough and well-documented work is the first comprehensive study of Virginia's historic and picturesque Shenandoah Valley for the quarter century extending from 1763 to 1789. The period is probably the most interesting and important one of similar length through which the valley has passed, for during the twenty-six years under notice this two-hundred-mile trough between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghenies, stretching from the Potomac to the headwaters of the James, played a major role in our history.

The Scotch-Irish, German, and English settlers who comprised the bulk of the valley population had completed most of their migrations into the area by the time the story opens. The hardy pioneer stock which peopled the region was

facing many privations on the frontier, and the "Long Knives," as the whites were known, were fighting bloody engagements with the Indians. Theirs was a relatively primitive society, by comparison with the more luxurious mode of life in Tidewater, and the simple homesteads of the Shenandoah Valley's leading citizens were in marked contrast to those along the lower reaches of the James, the Rappahannock, and the York. Mr. Hart shows that at this period only twenty-three persons in the entire valley had as many as twenty slaves.

The democratic climate of the frontier undoubtedly had its part in causing the valley to take the lead in passing resolutions against British oppression. These counties also furnished several great military leaders to the Continental armies—including George Washington, Daniel Morgan, and Peter Muhlenberg—as well as many tough-thewed fighters in the ranks. They likewise were a major supply base for the Revolutionary armies. Valley flour and beef were shipped in huge quantities to the men on the firing line.

Throughout this period the valley also was a focal point in the battle for religious freedom. Since the Scotch Presbyterian element was dominant there, it was natural that the valley should furnish a core of resistance to the established church, then tottering to its fall.

And there was the highly significant role played by the valley in the ratification of the Federal Constitution by Virginia. Unlike the other frontier regions of the state, it cast all fourteen of its votes solidly for ratification and thereby turned the tide. Without the valley vote the Constitution would have been beaten in the convention, seventy-nine to seventy-five.

These and many other aspects of the valley's story during the Revolutionary years are graphically described by Mr. Hart. He has secured his materials from a vast number of both primary and secondary sources, and his book seems likely to be regarded as the definitive one on the subject.

*Richmond, Virginia*

VIRGINIUS DABNEY

JEFFERSON HIMSELF: THE PERSONAL NARRATIVE OF A MANY-SIDED AMERICAN. Edited by *Bernard Mayo*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1942. Pp. xv, 384. \$4.00.)

THIS is a book that every admirer of Jefferson will delight in having. To those of us who believe that the universal acceptance of Jeffersonian principles will be the surest constructive way out of the troubles which beset the peoples of our world, the book adds to the structure of Jefferson's fundamental thought and proves to us again that Jefferson wrote for mankind and was always a citizen of the world. "A nation . . . free in all its members from distressing wants, furnishes hopeful implements for the interesting experiment of self government; and we feel that we are acting under obligations not confined to the limits of our own society. It is impossible not to be sensible that we are acting for all mankind," and



"Who can limit the extent to which the federative principle may operate effectively?" were not written by a person with the outlook of a backwoods husbandman. Jefferson captured the spirit of the prophet-philosopher of the new order that dawned with the discovery of the concept of progress. The political thought of the world is dull today, because the dignity of the nature of man has been forgotten in a cynicism which has accepted the theory that the authority in the state should be taken from the people and placed in one man, that the state should consist of but two factors—a single will and a mass of men—and that this mass must think, act, and do as the single will directs. As the Declaration of Independence put meaning into the American Revolution, a rereading of Jefferson today will surely put real meaning into our struggle against the Axis.

Dr. Mayo is to be congratulated for his thoughtful selection and arrangement of quotations. His chapter introductions give enough biographical and historical material to keep the reader's thought and Jefferson's statements properly oriented. The book is historically timely, and there can be no doubt that it will find a place on the study list of those who are going to make Jefferson's bicentennial a time for Jeffersonian reading and research.

In this day when we are hearing so much about freedoms "everywhere," it is heartening to know that Jefferson recognized the true and lasting values for man, not only for endless space but also for infinite time. Outstanding even in the wealth of material Dr. Mayo has quoted are two great expressions: one, the epitaph Jefferson wrote for himself; and the other, perhaps his most often repeated statement. He knew what "eternal" meant when he said, "I have sworn upon the Altar of God, eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

*Washington, D. C.*

ELBERT D. THOMAS

DOCTOR BARD OF HYDE PARK: THE FAMOUS PHYSICIAN OF REVOLUTIONARY TIMES, THE MAN WHO SAVED WASHINGTON'S LIFE. By *John Brett Langstaff*. Introduction by Nicholas Murray Butler. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1942. Pp. 365. \$3.75.)

Dr. Samuel Bard was the outstanding leader in the medical profession of New York City during the latter part of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth. His father, Dr. John Bard, also a practitioner of distinction, gave him every advantage by sending him first to King's College and then to Edinburgh and London for medical training. Samuel Bard subsequently returned to practice in New York City and labored most effectively for the improvement of his profession. Among other distinctions he was one of the founders of the medical school at King's College and of the New York Hospital, was dean of the reorganized (Columbia) medical faculty, and subsequently president of the new school of the College of Physicians and Surgeons. He was finally instrumental



in 1813 in merging these two schools under the latter title and became the first president of the united institution. He was thus the prime mover in making New York City a national center of medical education. In private practice Dr. Bard numbered among his patients such distinguished persons as Hamilton, Burr, Talleyrand, and President Washington. Like other American physicians of the time, he was primarily a practitioner, but he was capable of original clinical investigations, and his text on obstetrics was widely used. His scientific interests also extended to botany, to animal husbandry, and to agriculture.

Mr. Langstaff has told this story of a professional career in an interesting manner and has based it upon a careful examination of all available sources. Much is said of Dr. Bard's personal affairs—particularly in reference to his inheritance of the Hyde Park estate—and if no clear picture of his personality emerges, it is probably because the sources did not lend themselves to intimate characterization. If he had his faults, these do not appear in the narrative. One aspect of Bard's non-professional interests which receives considerable attention is his activity as an Anglican layman. He built the church on his estate in which the king of England and the President of the United States worshiped together on a celebrated occasion in recent years. But as Bard always avoided religious as well as political controversies, the introduction of Anglican history as such seems more pertinent to the history of that church or of Columbia University than it does to the present biography.

The chief weakness in this study is the lack of scientific background. Save for a few early references to Philadelphia, the story of professional developments in New York City is treated in isolation from that of other national centers. As a result the work lacks the third dimension of a comparative perspective. Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, in his introduction, states that "The reader will gain new and most illuminating insight into the development of the science of medicine by Dr. Bard's genius." This is exactly what the reader will not gain. There is little discussion of Dr. Bard's technical interests in medicine or of his views on the scientific issues of the day. Perhaps no evidence on these points is available. In any case the narrative gives a most useful account of professional history but very little on the history of science—a contrast typical of much that has been written to date on the development of American medicine.

*University of Pennsylvania*

RICHARD H. SHRYOCK

THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN PENNSYLVANIA, 1776-1790. By Robert L. Brunhouse. (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical Commission. 1942. Pp. viii, 368. \$1.00.)

HISTORIANS have given much attention to the problem faced by the Whigs in converting Pennsylvania to independence in 1776 and the radical constitution of that year. Until recently, however, the period immediately following, which

witnessed a swing in the pendulum from radicalism to conservatism, has received considerably less scrutiny. In this volume Mr. Brunhouse gives particular attention to the vicissitudes of Pennsylvania's political fortunes from 1776 to 1790: the struggle to inaugurate the new government in all its agencies, the failure of the radicals to cope adequately with state and national problems, the extreme measures introduced by them, the emergence of the conservatives and the factors contributing to their growing prestige in the eighties, which culminated in the more conservative frame of government of 1790. The author has done a masterful job in digesting and interpreting a tremendous mass of material from official documents, newspapers, pamphlets, private manuscripts, and so forth. Many of the major incidents in this period of Pennsylvania's checkered politics have been recited again and again, but they have never been interpreted so fully and so thoroughly in terms of the issues and the hatreds between the two parties, Constitutionalists and Republicans. Here one sees not only the acts but the actors in their radical, moderate, or conservative roles: the shifting of alignments, the jockeying between factions, and the machinations to gain or to maintain control. The author sets forth lucidly the forces and the factors contributing to the downfall of the radicals:

The vital stumbling block of the Radical regime, however, was not the sound and fury of the mob but the inability to solve the financial and economic problems of the day. The Constitutionalists failed; and the Republican merchants stepped forth to show what money and financial credit could do. That they succeeded where the Radicals had failed was obvious to everyone; that the public would turn to them for guidance and leadership was inevitable (p. 87).

That the bitter party struggle of this period, with all its petty animosities, was not without its lessons is well attested by the fact that controlling elements in the convention of 1790, conservative and radical alike, recognized the importance of adopting measures which would avoid confusion in the transition from the old to the new government. They were careful to take the constitution of 1776 "as the basis on which to propose amendments" (p. 225) and agreed that laws not inconsistent with the new constitution would continue in force (p. 226). It is significant that there was no provision for submitting the new frame of government to a vote of the people, "nor did that seem necessary, for apparently everyone accepted it" (p. 227). A fitting climax to this hectic fourteen-year political drama in search of law and order in an American commonwealth.

This volume contains much more than a narrative history. It provides an excellent super-case history for the study of the processes of revolution at work in their different stages. In parts it reads as excitingly and as fascinatingly as a detective story, but always fully and amply interpreted. Copious notes are appended following the textual material. There is an appendix with valuable maps showing the geographic distributions of party strength in different years and other enlightening data. The reader will also find a satisfactory index and an extensive bibli-

ography. All in all, this is a welcome and decidedly worth-while contribution to the literature of early American institutions.

*Butler University*

JAMES H. PEELING

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO NORTHWEST MISSIONS, 1815-1827.

Edited with Notes and an Introduction by *Grace Lee Nute*, Curator of Manuscripts, Minnesota Historical Society. [The Clarence Walworth Alvord Memorial Commission of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Publications, I.] (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society. 1942. Pp. xix, 469. \$5.00.)

As the first volume of a projected series devoted to the publication of original documents relating to the history of the Mississippi Valley, the present work has the special significance of being not only a good thing in itself but also a harbinger of more good things to follow. In the preface Solon J. Buck, formerly chairman of the Clarence Walworth Alvord Memorial Commission, explains the background of planning and effort behind both the series and the present study. The introduction, written by the editor herself, provides the necessary historical setting for the documents here presented.

The majority of these documents were written originally in French. With the exception of a few which have been published elsewhere, those appearing here are printed in the original language as well as in an English translation. Most of them are letters written by people who, for one reason or another, were interested between the years 1815 and 1827 in the Roman Catholic mission established in the valley of the Red River of the North at that time. The chief writers, of course, were the men who planned and carried out the mission—Bishop Plessis of Quebec, the missionaries Provencher, Dumoulin, and Destroismaisons, and others. Prominent also, however, are Lord and Lady Selkirk, who were the leading lay benefactors of the Red River mission, and certain other people connected with the North West Company or with the Hudson's Bay Company. References to things which belong to the history of the Mississippi Valley, though not, perhaps, of fundamental significance, are numerous and often important. They range from the spiritual authority of the bishop of Louisiana in the Red River country and the political authority there of the United States to the first movements between the two valleys of traders and merchandise and the occasional forays northward of the Sioux.

A reader of these documents is likely to be impressed with the generosity and broad-mindedness of Lord and Lady Selkirk, the ability and the essential devotion to religion of the leading ecclesiastics, the evil effects of the fur trade, especially as it was carried on by the North West Company, upon the people of the Red River Valley, and the instinctive tendency of mere fur traders to discourage and oppose settlement. Not all students of the history of the Northwest will go as far as the editor in assigning to either Lord Selkirk or Bishop Plessis

as the basis for his interest in the Red River mission motives primarily utilitarian. Again, some critics may object that the translation is too literal; others, that it is not literal enough; but there is less ground for such charges in the later pages of the volume than in the earlier. In most other respects the standard of the publication is uniformly high. The printing is accurate; the footnotes and references are sufficient; a glossary explains most of the extraordinary terms appearing in the text; and there is an excellent index which obviates the need for a detailed table of contents. The format is appropriate to the nature of the subject.

*Queens College*

JOHN PERRY PRITCHETT

FREE NEGRO LABOR AND PROPERTY HOLDING IN VIRGINIA, 1830-1860. By *Luther Porter Jackson*, Professor of History, Virginia State College. [The American Historical Association.] (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1942. Pp. xix, 270. \$3.75.)

OF the free Negro we have heard much from those who have treated slaveholding history. These treatments, however, have been stereotyped and negative. Generally speaking, the free Negro had no place in a proslavery society. Law and custom prevented him from attaining the social and political status of the white man. The free Negro in spite of his apparently higher status suffered from many of the disabilities imposed upon the slave. The free Negro was free and not free, slave and not slave. Dr. Jackson, however, did not set out to discuss these details to which so many others have devoted much space. He deals with these aspects satisfactorily in the first chapter of this work and presents a new picture from newly discovered facts.

The new data presented came mainly from manuscripts, government documents, land books, and deed books; not solely from editorials, speeches, resolutions, and laws by which so many investigators have been misled. Free Negroes in Virginia, as in other parts of the South, contrived to make considerable economic progress in spite of numerous obstacles. They became mechanics and artisans who established homes in cities and towns, where some rose to the level of prosperous businessmen; and not a few free Negroes became thrifty farmers possessed of large holdings like those of well-to-do white planters.

The early gains of certain free Negroes in Virginia were made in spite of keen competition with white labor, but about the middle of the century their situation improved. Though once at a low level from soil exhaustion, surplus of slaves, poor transportation, lack of manufactures, and the consequent emigration of its citizens to other parts of the South and West, by 1840 Virginia had arrested its decline by new methods of agriculture, internal improvements, and the interstate slave trade. This prosperity increased the demand for the labor of free Negroes, inasmuch as the poor whites available for industry were not adequate, and docile and tractable free Negroes could be hired for less than the whites.

Availing themselves of such opportunities as they had, a number of free Negroes of Virginia had made much economic progress by 1860. This progress in the rural areas was unusual. In 1860 the free Negroes of Virginia had, in proportion to their numbers, as much land as the entire race owned in that state in 1891. About 35 per cent of the free Negro heads of families either owned or rented land in 1860. When the clamor frequently arose to get rid of the free Negroes who, by competition, were driving white workers from the state, to their rescue, therefore, came certain white men of influence and fortune who insisted that these black laborers be not disturbed, because they were an asset to the community (pp. 99-101).

Dr. Jackson supports every important assertion or conclusion by citation of his sources. From the local records of the leading counties of Virginia he has published tables of free Negroes owning property, giving in each case the date it was acquired, the purchase price, and the official valuation. In some cases he has traced the ownership of the property from 1830 through 1860 down to the present time, giving family histories of an unbroken advance toward economic security (pp. 145, 152). He shows also that free Negroes, following the custom of the country, acquired slaves as property, not always for exploitation purposes but to make easier the hard lot of their relatives and friends.

In this thorough piece of historical research few defects can be pointed out. It may be well to remark, however, that the author errs somewhat in thinking that the status of the free Negroes in Virginia paralleled that of the free Negroes in other states (pp. x, 136). The free Negroes, with the exception of those in Wilmington, Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, and New Orleans, were worse off in most other states than in Virginia. It has been well established by investigation that Virginia, although cruel, treated Negroes more humanely than they were treated in the Lower South. The author, moreover, missed the opportunity of emphasizing how the hostile laws, passed in Virginia after Nat Turner's insurrection in 1831, drove many prosperous Negro property owners from the state to other parts and thus reduced the number of this class in Virginia. He does not miss this point but he does not develop it fully. The law of 1838, which prohibited the return to the state of a free Negro leaving it to seek education, all but caused a migration.

Dr. Jackson says that the free Negroes fared well in Virginia from 1830 to 1860. This prosperity, however, was mainly economic. Socially the free Negroes in 1860 were more restricted than they were prior to 1830. Because of the enthusiasm of the author, moreover, the reader may receive the impression that there was a larger proportion of prosperous free Negroes than the very facts which he presents would indicate. While those mentioned fared well economically, there were thousands who could not do the all but impossible thing of rising under the burdens imposed upon them. This book is the record of those who survived, but what was the fate of the thousands lost in the struggle against their disabilities?

On the whole, the work is a valuable volume. It presents data of great importance to all persons interested in the improvement of social conditions. It is at the same time striking evidence of the Negro's ability to endure in face of terrible odds against his race. In thus presenting this unknown record of the free Negro population in Virginia, Dr. Jackson has discounted the gloomy comments of a host of writers, and he has set a high standard for rewriting the history of these people.

*Washington, D. C.*

C. G. WOODSON

THE CAREER OF JOSEPH LANE, FRONTIER POLITICIAN. By Sister M. Margaret Jean Kelly, Sisters of the Holy Names, Marylhurst, Oregon. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1942. Pp. ix, 207. \$2.00.)

THIS study is the result of years of painstaking research in a considerable range of materials that throw light on the political and military career of a relatively obscure man who through native ability and considerable shrewdness attained some prominence as an officer in the Mexican War, as an Indian fighter, as first governor of the Oregon Territory, as one of the first senators when Oregon was admitted into the Union, and finally as the vice-presidential candidate on the Breckenridge ticket in 1860. The author's statement in her preface that "the history of a period is traced in its social, economic and political trends and in its outstanding events" seems hardly to be carried out in the text, for a rich field of social development is practically unscratched and the economic background is but sketchily drawn. As a political biography it is interesting and informative.

In general the story follows the conventional lines of biographical writing: "Early Life," "State Legislature," "Hoosier General," "Territorial Governor," and so on. Naturally the greater part of the study deals with Lane's life from the time in 1848 when he was appointed first territorial governor of Oregon to his participation in the presidential campaign of 1860. As governor, Lane was generally popular and as Indian Agent *ex officio* he had perhaps more understanding of the tribulations of his wards than many of his contemporaries and on the whole handled problems judiciously. When a new administration appointed another as territorial governor the electorate demanded his services as territorial delegate in Congress, and he held this position, thanks in part to his personal popularity and, in the earlier days, to the "Salem Clique," down to the time of Oregon's admission as a state, when he was chosen one of the first two senators. All through his congressional days he strove, and not unsuccessfully in the first years, to secure benefits for his constituents. As slavery and states' rights overshadowed more darkly other national issues, Lane was outspoken in his advocacy of the doctrine that every citizen must be protected by the Federal government in holding any property, including slaves, when he entered a territory, and he repudiated both Douglas' squatter sovereignty and the Republican tenets. This attitude made



him a logical running mate for Breckenridge, especially since he had a certain popularity in Indiana. The author stresses, in her discussion of the campaign, her belief that while "it was to be expected that the Breckenridge ticket would find its chief support in the deep South . . . it does not follow that these States or rather the people at large were anxious for secession" (p. 175).

This dissertation deserved more careful editing. Slips in dates and inconsistencies of one sort and another should have been caught at some stage. As a whole the monograph fills a small niche in the vast foundation for a synthesis of American history.

*University of Minnesota*

L. B. SHIPPEE

ANTE-BELLUM SOUTH CAROLINA: A SOCIAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY. By *Rosser H. Taylor*, Professor of History, Furman University. [The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science.] (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1942. Pp. ix, 201. \$2.50, paper \$1.25.)

THE ante-bellum South offers an inviting field to the student of social history. Ruralness simplified life to a degree and "peculiar" features gave it unusual interest. The materials are abundant. A fairly complete and accurate picture is possible. That which illuminates one state applies, in modified form, to other states in the South. A sound and thorough study of South Carolina is, therefore, a welcome contribution to the history of a section.

Dr. Taylor uses the term "social history" broadly. He includes sectionalism, rural and urban life, the ways and ideals of upper and lower classes, health, education, religion, amusements, and social controls. He knows the background of South Carolina history thoroughly enough to keep things in their proper places and in perspective. He has used a wide variety of materials. He has used them with intelligence and restraint. The result is what may conscientiously be called "a satisfactory study."

No sharp revision of generally held opinion of life in ante-bellum South Carolina is made necessary by Dr. Taylor's findings. The sharp cleavage between coast and interior is always apparent; the persistence of Old World ideals on farm and plantation alike is shown in conduct and values; the subtle and direct influence of Negroes on every phase of life is demonstrated over and over; "90° in the shade" provides the setting for it all. South Carolinians "enjoyed" poor health and her doctors did little about it. Her peoples "got religion" in thoroughly good American rural fashion. They neglected the arts, and they had a good time according to the habits of their neighborhood when freedom from the grinding effort at making a living permitted.

Here and there at all times a few men and communities did better with what the author calls "culture." They read good books, had their portraits painted, took a trip to Europe or to the North, and worshiped God in a dignified man-



ner. Charleston became the most civilized spot on the continent; Hugh Lagare had few intellectual equals in the Western world; Washington Allston's paintings won national acclaim; Calhoun's thinking about political theory went deeper than that of other contemporaries. The term "gentleman" could be correctly applied to a surprisingly large number of men whose names have not come down to history. And all of this set alongside the masses who presented about as good an example of Puritanism as could be found in all America!

This is a careful and well-presented study. It is valuable for detail rather than for interpretation. It is a scholar's book.

*University of Chicago*

AVERY CRAVEN

SIMON CAMERON: ANTE-BELLUM YEARS. By *Lee F. Crippen*, Berea College. [Men of America, Vol. III.] (Oxford: Mississippi Valley Press. 1942. Pp. 318. \$3.50.)

FOR nearly a century the name of Simon Cameron has been more or less synonymous with intrigue, plunder, and machine politics. His election to the United States Senate by means of a fusion deal in 1845 caused John W. Forney to exclaim "God save the Commonwealth." President Polk set him down as "a managing, tricky man in whom no reliance is to be placed." President Buchanan, a long-time friend and ally, came to regard him as an unprincipled rascal. His departure from the War Department in January, 1862, was hailed by many as the equivalent of a great Union victory. The Pennsylvania Republican machine became his monument, and his son, Matthew Quay, and Boise Penrose in turn his political heirs.

To rehabilitate the reputation of such a man is no small undertaking, yet that is what to some extent Professor Crippen has done. While conceding that Cameron was "one of the first powerful state bosses" and that he "tended to look to the end to be attained rather than the means to be employed," Professor Crippen concludes that Cameron has frequently been the victim of misrepresentation, distortion, and malicious gossip. He produces evidence which exonerates Cameron from wrongdoing in connection with the settlement of the Winnebago Indian claims of the 1830's, an episode which cast a long shadow over Cameron. Furthermore, he contends that the chief attacks upon the Pennsylvanian in the prewar years came from fellow Democrats who opposed his ardent support of tariff protection and from those who resented his frustration of their political aspirations and his willingness to court Whigs and Know-Nothings to promote his own. Regular Democrats never forgave him for his fusion election to the Senate in 1845, and his efforts, finally successful in 1857, to repeat that "crime" led to his complete break with the Democrats and his affiliation thereafter with the Republicans. Despite the persuasiveness of Professor Crippen, there lurks with the reviewer a suspicion that there was more to the distrust and opposition than meets

the eye in his pages. Among his new Republican associates Cameron was soon again a storm center, and so he remained as long as he was active in public affairs.

The author has focused attention primarily upon Cameron's party activities in the ante-bellum years, but perhaps of equal interest and value is his account of Cameron's rise as a master of capital and as a political sponsor and protector of business interests. Truly he was a forerunner of the Gormans, Aldriches, and Platts of a later day. The protective tariff was usually the yardstick by which he measured a man's worth in politics and his principal recipe for prosperity. In view of this and the nature of his business operations it is surprising that he remained in the Democratic ranks as long as he did.

A few of Professor Crippen's interpretations and statements of historical fact are open to question, and one wishes that the author had drawn a somewhat fuller portrait of Cameron himself, but his book as a whole is well balanced, smoothly written, and includes ample notes and bibliography. Based to a large extent upon the Cameron Papers and other manuscript materials, it is the most complete and authoritative study of Cameron's prewar career that has yet appeared and should be followed by a companion volume covering the record of his last twenty years.

*Dartmouth College*

A. HOWARD MENEELY

A DECADE OF SECTIONAL CONTROVERSY, 1851-1861. By *Henry H. Simms*, Associate Professor of History, Ohio State University. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1942. Pp. xi, 284. \$3.50.)

THIS monograph weaves into the sectional pattern the main causes of the Civil War, with a view to determining their relative importance. Starting with the assumption that "slavery was the main bone of contention," a survey of the "Old South," and the slavery controversy to 1852, the author then traces these causes through controversies incident to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, Kansas difficulties, the Dred Scott decision, differences over free Negroes and fugitive slaves, divergent economic influences, triumph of a sectional party, and resulting secession of certain Southern states. As a result he was able to isolate psychological, constitutional, economic, moral, and political factors, but he concludes that "the political factors, more than any other, produced the hostile feeling which resulted in the separation of the sections." For students generally his scholarly pro and con analysis of the worth-while writings on the subject will perhaps be more useful than his main conclusion, which had already been accepted and stated by several scholars.

In arriving at his main conclusion the author correctly indicates that "slavery had run its course in the territories" and that "the controversy over the return of fugitives was out of all proportion to the number that actually escaped." He thinks therefore that "sound statesmanship might have found some solution for

questions of such little practical significance." Its failure to do so tends to minimize the importance of constitutional, economic, and moral factors and to stress the psychological and political ones, especially the latter. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that leaders and observers at the time generally admitted that the controversy resolved itself into an uncompromising contest between the North and the South for political power.

The author seems therefore to agree with the late Professor Charles W. Ramsdell to the effect, as stated by the former, "that President Lincoln, unwilling to compromise sectional issues and finding his administration and his party in a precarious situation, deliberately maneuvered the Southerners into firing the first shot, so that they might seem to the North to be the 'aggressors.'" Thus the author probably intended to answer the question any reader of this study will ask: Was the conflict between the North and the South a "needless war" or an "irrepressible conflict"?

Readers will be disappointed to find that the study contains no maps. A bibliography and an index covering about seventeen pages each are well done.

*West Virginia University*

C. H. AMBLER

TREATIES AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL ACTS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. Edited by *Hunter Miller*. Volume VII, DOCUMENTS 173-200: 1855-1858. (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1942. Pp. xxvii, 1170. \$4.00.)

REVIEWS of earlier volumes of this monumental publication have given due emphasis to its conspicuous merits: identification and reproduction of authentic texts as accurately as human fallibility and the printing press will allow; authoritative description of the drafting, signing, ratification, and proclamation, as the case may require, of each document; careful explanation of peculiar features of each instrument; a scholarly history of its negotiation. As the series advances the historical material becomes more and more abundant. The distribution of each volume is now accompanied by an official mimeographed press release describing its content and significance, presumably a review by the editor of his own handiwork; for it would not be likely to appear except with the editor's approval. Those who know well both the erudite editor and his successive volumes will agree that it is not inappropriate or unscholarly to extract from his own review the comments that follow.

Probably the most noteworthy document in the volume is the Treaty of Amity and Commerce of July 29, 1858, with Japan. For the first time in United States treaty compilations the full text of this document is printed—the treaty proper and annexed regulations, together with the convention of March 19, 1859, for postponement of the exchange of ratifications, all in the three languages of agreement, English, Japanese, and Netherlandish. The editorial notes include a de-

tailed account of the negotiations compiled from the records of the Department of State, the published diary of Townsend Harris, plenipotentiary of the United States, and the Harris Papers in possession of the College of the City of New York; an account of the first Japanese mission to the United States, in 1860, for the purpose of exchanging the ratifications of the treaty, based on the archives of the Department of State supplemented by newspapers; a reprint of certain Japanese records of the negotiations which were published in the 1879 volume of *Foreign Relations of the United States*; and sixty-eight pages of further Japanese records of the negotiations which were obtained in recent years and translated by Mr. Eugene H. Dooman of the American foreign service.

A vast amount of material relating to the negotiation and subsequent history of the Treaty of Peace, Amity, and Commerce between the United States and China, signed at Tientsin on June 18, 1858, is available in print. The present volume contains the two versions of the treaty text, English and Chinese, and editorial notes reviewing the negotiations and history, based primarily on the department's records but with numerous citations of published sources.

Twelve agreements in Volume VII have not heretofore been included in United States treaty collections, and most of them have not been previously available in print. Of particular interest are the exchange of notes of February 21 and June 28, 1855, with Spain, for the settlement of the case of the steamer *Black Warrior*, an intrinsically unimportant affair which developed into one of grave international concern; the exchange of notes of August 3 and 7, 1855, with France, for adjustment of the case of Patrice Dillon, consul of France at San Francisco, an episode which at the time evoked widespread comment and prolonged diplomatic discussion; the engagement imposed upon Thakombau, styled "King of Fiji," under date of October 23, 1855, to pay certain claims which had been arbitrarily determined by an American naval officer in the sum of \$45,000, the editorial notes to which comprise a survey of relations of the United States with Fiji from their commencement to 1870; the exchange of notes of June 10 and December 26, 1857, with France, for the settlement of the case of the brig *Esmeralda*, the earliest known instance of adjustment of a particular claim against the United States by an agreement specifically and exclusively for that purpose.

Other features of the volume are a monograph on the "peace-and-friendship clauses" of certain treaties of the United States with other American republics, which forms part of the editorial notes to the Treaty of Peace, Friendship, Commerce, and Navigation of May 13, 1858, with Bolivia; an account of the extradition proceedings, arising from frauds on the Northern Railway Company of France, which the French minister at Washington assigned as reasons for the conclusion of the additional article of February 10, 1858; and a seventeen-page bibliography of the writings cited in the volume.

Yale University

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS

JOHN BROWN AND THE LEGEND OF FIFTY-SIX. By *James C. Malin*, Professor of American History, University of Kansas. [Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Volume XVII.] (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society. 1942. Pp. xii, 794. \$5.00.)

IN *The Ring and the Book*, as the author points out, Browning repetitiously posed "the eternal question of truth and how it can be determined." It is on this theme that Mr. Malin begins; his first concern is "the extent to which the subjective element enters into what is ordinarily regarded as fact." If Kansas is "a state of mind," the memory of John Brown has been less a fabric of historical truth than a hodgepodge of hagiology, controversy, and emotional retrospection. While, therefore, this book is highly important as to Brown, being the first major contribution in the field by one who is primarily a historian, it is also a significant project in historical criticism. It should claim the attention of journeymen in the guild, and masters as well, whose interest may be more in technique than in the scourge of Osawatimie. Mr. Malin's purpose has not been to make a popular appeal nor to do a biography but to produce an exhaustive and rigidly critical monograph-with-documents on the 1856 Kansas phase. His product is an impressive revisionist study in which, so far as determinable, "all available Kansas materials" have been used (p. vii), much of the grist being "altogether new," while Eastern records have been subjected to "a fairly representative coverage."

There are three parts. Part I details the Kansas scene in the 1850's, with copious extracts from contemporary newspapers and official documents; Part II traces the making of the legend (the post-Harpers-Ferry creation of a martyr); then in Part III one finds a critical source study of the Potawatimie massacre of 1856 in the light of newly used manuscript materials. By a scanning of Part II one may reconstruct the apotheosis of Brown; he may see it in the making, with Emerson proclaiming the man as saint and with the famous marching song, which itself needs inquiry, putting the name on every lip. Brown's exit line was amazingly effective, and in his final speech it was almost as if the erratic killer had stepped out of his skin to produce a classic. Yet one must not misinterpret his posthumous fame as indicating wide approval of his violent program. In this post-1859 apotheosis a legend grew as to Brown's Kansas career; this legend is Mr. Malin's chief target as he clears out the dead wood of unhistorical material and hews to the line of provable reality.

It is Mr. Malin's conclusion that the emigration of the Browns to Kansas was just another case, largely economic, of pioneer Western settlement; here he dissents from Villard, who stresses revolutionary abolitionism as Brown's deliberate object. Space does not permit a close comparison of Villard and Malin on this point; suffice it to say that Villard must still be used, if only for bits of evidence which Malin omits. On the problem of Brown's "greatest or principal object" (to destroy slavery) one gets impressions and material from Villard which Malin does not give; as to the alleged family oath compact (some time before 1840) to strike

down Negro bondage, it is accepted by Villard but treated by Malin as historically unproved. Villard shows (p. 53) that Brown studied guerrilla warfare in 1855; Malin omits this. Also the visit of Frederick Douglass to the Brown house in 1847 is given by Villard (pp. 47, 48) and omitted by Malin, perhaps because he deems the evidence insufficient. One finds other points of this nature. In general, on Brown's life before 1855 Malin adds little of a factual nature to Sanborn and Villard; he derives material from them while avoiding their interpretations. Of course his caution itself is a contribution, while he claims no original definitive study in this field; 1856 is his theme and Kansas his province. His forte is in such things as excluding non-contemporaneous testimony, exposing misconceptions of geography, recounting land troubles, noting the home-state origin of Kansan pioneers, observing differences among free-state men, and re-examining the tendency to treat early Kansas as if slavery were its only question. (In 1860 the census showed only two slaves in Kansas!) Perhaps some of the misconceptions require even more of a frontal attack—*e.g.*, the idea encountered in the South that Brown was representative of that mythical entity known as "the North" or even of the Republican party.

Under Malin's competent hand the legendary Brown falls away. Whether the "real" Brown (as a person) emerges is a question, but Malin is not writing biography. He is content with rigorous historical limitations. A "psychoanalyst" would have Brown all figured out; that the author avoids this is a subject for gratitude. Maps and documents buttress the text; annotation is complete; the format is clear and appropriate; errors are few and minor.

*University of Illinois*

J. G. RANDALL

OVERLAND ROUTES TO THE GOLD FIELDS, 1859, FROM CONTEMPORARY DIARIES. Edited by *LeRoy R. Hafen*, Historian of the State Historical Society of Colorado. [Southwest Historical Series, XI.] (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1942. Pp. 320. \$6.00.)

IN this volume, the third of the series in the Pikes Peak gold rush of 1858-59, Dr. Hafen offers the student of American history diaries and journals covering travel on the seven principal routes to the mines. These accounts have been carefully selected from the great fund of contemporary information practically unavailable to the student, with valuable biographical and explanatory material added, including appendixes, a fold-in map, and contemporary illustrations.

The diarists all had some special qualification for their task. Post, who traveled the Arkansas river route, was a lawyer and later became attorney general of the Colorado he helped to build. Patterson, of the Platte route, was a newspaper man who had been an overlander to California nine years before. Neither Pease nor Gass can be completely identified but the former had a letter recommending him as a teacher, despite some weakness in punctuation, when he started up the St.

Joseph-Fort Kearny route, and Gass of the Texas Pikes Peakers wrote so interesting a diary that it was published as fast as it got back to Texas. Richardson, who took the Leavenworth and Pikes Peak Express route, included his account in his book *Beyond the Mississippi*, and those who wrote their experiences on the Smoky Hill trail include such varying personalities as Hamilton, said to have been a farmer in good standing, Villard, the eminent journalist, and Daniel Blue, the surviving member of the three brothers driven to cannibalism by the rigors of the Smoky Hill route and saved only through the kindness of the Indians who found him.

While this book is invaluable to those who are interested in the growth of a nation, to the less specialized reader it offers high adventure in an untamed land: distant trails that lead through flooding rivers and over great dry stretches with no sign of water except in the shimmering of mirages; stubborn oxen that eat up the pocketbook, run away, go lame, and die; rascally traders who rob the emigrant or perhaps save his life; Indians who beg and threaten and kill, or instruct and save; buffalo that embarrass the traveler by their numbers and then are scarce as rain in the dust; men who blunder and play and laugh and then bicker and dispute when their lives depend upon co-operation, or grow quiet and gaunt and heroic; sunsets that lift the heart; and a hope that grows far beyond the lust for gold and will not die.

All these things are in this fine volume of one episode in the life of man.

Denver, Colorado

MARI SANDOZ

OLD THAD STEVENS: A STORY OF AMBITION. By *Richard Nelson Current*, Assistant Professor of History and Political Science, Rutgers University. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1942. Pp. v, 344. \$3.00.)

"BEWIGGED, clubfooted, sarcastic Old Thad Stevens," writes Mr. Current of this amazing personality, "was the imperious kind of man whom few could love but to whom none could be indifferent or lukewarm. To Americans of the eighteenth-sixties, disagreeing violently as they did about politics, he was at once a saint, albeit a tarnished one, and a fiend."

Stevens was born in 1792 in a frontier settlement in northern Vermont. He migrated to Pennsylvania soon after attaining his majority and made that state his home for the remainder of his life. The claim of this dynamic, colorful, and enigmatic figure to a place among the immortals in our national history rests upon the "leadership" he displayed during the Civil War and early Reconstruction periods, the last seven years of his seventy-six-year span. During those seven years Stevens exercised a greater influence on the lawmaking power than that wielded by any other legislator before or since. He has been called the greatest dictator Congress ever had. Prior to his election to Congress in 1860, Stevens had served



in the Pennsylvania legislature, becoming involved in the "Buckshot War," in which he was worsted and was forced to flee by way of a window in the rear of the Capitol. He served two terms in the House of Representatives in Washington from 1849 to 1853 but did nothing to distinguish himself during that period.

Old Thad was an ambitious man of politics, seeking to get and to exercise the power of public office. The love of power, a contemporary said, was "the master passion of his soul." In his struggle for power in Pennsylvania politics after the formation of the Republican party, he was outpointed by the more astute and sagacious Simon Cameron. Though they frequently appeared to be bitter opponents within the party, they saw eye to eye on many problems and usually had a working "understanding."

Mr. Current's volume is the fourth biography of Stevens to appear in less than a decade, and he has avoided many weaknesses of the works of his predecessors. It is too brief to be exhaustive, but it is objective and critical and presents a more balanced view of Stevens than is found in previous works. The book is based upon a careful reinterpretation of material already familiar to the student of the period and on much material hitherto unused. The author's style is vivid and forceful and, at frequent intervals, is punctuated with quotations from the caustic satire of the subject. Excellent characterizations of several of Stevens' contemporaries enliven the tale. The author is sensitive to the period and skillfully weaves the story of Stevens into the state and national setting; but why in connection with the Compromise of 1850 does he name Clay and Webster and omit Douglas, whom recent research shows to have been most responsible for the passage of the measures? The bibliography and index are adequate. The footnotes are conveniently located at the bottom of the page. However, the tendency of the author to delay for paragraphs, or even pages, the footnote for a citation, and then to group numerous citations under one footnote, proves rather irritating for the reader interested in the sources used. Everything considered, Mr. Current is to be congratulated. The book deserves and should win popularity among the general reading public as well as with the special student and scholar.

*Berea College*

LEE F. CRIPPEN

"FIGHTIN'" JOE WHEELER. By *John P. Dyer*. [Southern Biography Series, edited by Wendell Holmes Stephenson and Fred C. Cole.] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1941. Pp. viii, 417. \$3.00.)

Was Fighting Joe Wheeler a great Confederate cavalry leader? Author Dyer seems to think so. He describes him as "dashing, yet conservative; proud, yet humble; small physically, yet possessed [of] great stamina; mild in temperament, yet a vicious fighter" (p. 5). A better title might have been "Wheeler, a Study in Contradiction."

Wheeler's life and activities fall naturally into three phases: that of a soldier

in the Civil War, the postwar readjustment to civil pursuits, and his participation in the rise of American imperialism. Each receives due space and consideration, with a fair portrayal of General Wheeler. The postwar part of the book finds the author on firmer ground, steeped in the political history of the frontier South, but he loses poor Wheeler in a treatment of the political problems he so thoroughly understands and enjoys.

Joe Wheeler makes a difficult subject. The author has done well with his space assignment, but he fails to make Wheeler fit into his environment, chiefly because Mr. Dyer seems to prefer—and certainly to enjoy—emphasizing the political and social problems of the environment rather than those which define Joe Wheeler and make him live. After all, the story ought to be about General Wheeler, and not a discourse on the campaigns in the West, or the political controversies of the post-Civil War period.

Mr. Dyer seems to belong to that modern school of historian-biographers who have their chief character emerge from a complicated background of military maneuvers and a melting cauldron of rhetoric. There is entirely too much detail of military plans, orders and maneuvers, and a fatal lack of maps. Furthermore, the author submerges Wheeler unnecessarily with a collateral story of Bragg. A few errors appear, and some questionable interpretations.

It is difficult at times to decide whether the author is struggling with a subjective discourse on Braxton Bragg, the Silver movement, American tariff problems, etc., or endeavoring to rescue a rather astute and scrappy little general of Confederate cavalry from the clutching fingers of the details of many historical source books. As a history of Bragg and the Civil War in the West, Mr. Dyer does fairly well; as an objective biography of the person, character, and effort of Joe Wheeler, the author calls too strongly on the imagination and patience of readers. Those schooled in historical research will find little difficulty in locating and understanding Wheeler, but the average readers—that is, those who ought to read books like this and enjoy them—are in for a bad hour or two of excavating poor Joe Wheeler from a maze of scholastic red tape and a shroud made of too many extracts from the *Official Records*.

*Indio, California*

DONALD BRIDGMAN SANGER

MORGAN AND HIS RAIDERS: A BIOGRAPHY OF THE CONFEDERATE GENERAL. By *Cecil Fletcher Holland*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1942. Pp. xiii, 373. \$3.50.)

THREE quarters of a century ago General John Hunt Morgan was famed. Extolled in the South as a hero, in the North he was despised and feared. He was a type of soldier who many believed would disappear from modern warfare. The contrary has occurred. Raids are again being made, quite in the style of Morgan, by successors who are mounted in tanks instead of on horses. So it is not

inappropriate that there now appears a book on Morgan's career in our Civil War during the period 1861-64, for he was killed in the latter year. Holland's reasons for his book are that it is based on new material, consisting of family records and letters, gathered by General Morgan's widow and which until now had remained hidden in her family's possession. The author has consulted an impressive list of other sources, but his footnotes seldom refer to the *Official Records of the Rebellion*. The book is a personal account of Morgan, his command, and his time, rather than a military account. It is written in an entertaining newspaper style.

Holland represents Morgan as having had a better understanding of the war than his superiors, with whom he was by no means always on good terms. Morgan wished an independent command; he detested serving as a subordinate under someone else. Morgan desired to be away and off on raids; the prosaic duty of serving with the main Army failed to appeal to him. He constantly asked to be detached for raids. His superiors as regularly desired not to weaken their commands by losing the presence of the cavalry during major battles.

While Morgan's command was small during 1861 and 1862, he had great success as a raider in Kentucky and Tennessee. It was then that he acquired a deserved reputation. He was not successful with larger forces. He was brave and impulsive, an excellent scout and spy himself, but leading large forces seemed to be beyond his ability. He took great risks and was badly defeated in 1862 at Lebanon, in 1863 in his raid through Indiana and Ohio, and in 1864 in Kentucky. He was absent from the important battles of Perryville, Stone's River, and Chickamauga, when his cavalry might have turned the scale of battle.

Yet Morgan was a great raider. He did much for the Confederate cause. Holland has written a book which if read in connection with official records gives an insight into the possibility of cavalry (in modern times—armored troops) breaking enemy plans by raiding into rear areas, destroying supplies and communications, capturing towns and posts, and causing general confusion and ultimate disaster.

The book has a good index, a bibliography, and only inconsequential typographical errors.

*Manchester, New Hampshire*

CONRAD H. LANZA

DAVID A. WELLS AND THE AMERICAN REVENUE SYSTEM, 1865-1870. By *Herbert Ronald Ferleger*. (New York: the author. 1942. Pp. vi, 338.)

THIS book is an account of Wells's life from the time of his appointment to the Revenue Commission in 1865 to the end of his service as special commissioner of the revenue in 1870. Wells is necessarily the central theme in the book, but as he was the dominant personality dealing with tax problems and legislation, the volume contains an excellent account of the fiscal history of the period. Although

the main facts of that history are well known, the book throws additional light on the forces that influenced legislation or endeavored to shape it.

A brief sketch of Wells's life prior to 1865 is followed by a detailed account of the circumstances surrounding his appointment as a member of the Revenue Commission. The author finds that Wells actively sought the appointment, a conclusion contrary to the general belief, fostered by Wells himself, that the appointment was unsolicited.

Probably the most significant feature of Wells's career was his switch, while an officer of the government under a Republican administration, from protection to tariff reform—a switch which inevitably incurred the wrath of Carey as well as of certain Republicans. But the quotations show that Wells was not without sincere support from influential Republicans, notably Garfield and Allison.

This volume for the first time gives a complete picture of Wells in public office. It corrects many false impressions, the responsibility for which is placed on Wells. On this point the author says:

Sometimes unwittingly, sometimes intentionally, Wells misled contemporaries and posterity. In autobiographical sketches and articles, he misinterpreted the significance of events in his own life. Occasionally the erroneous statements were caused by Wells' dependence on the weak reed of memory: accounts of occurrences after the lapse of two or three decades are notoriously inaccurate. But there are also cases in which the divergences from actuality were conscious. Like so many other persons who have been history-minded, Wells sought to inflate his own importance and desired to record his interpretation of his life and work.

The volume contains numerous quotations from Wells's writings (many of which are available only in a few libraries), from his own correspondence, and from the letters and writings of his contemporaries. It is a significant addition to the history of the problems of taxation.

*Washington, D. C.*

L. F. SCHMECKEBIER

LAND HUNGER: DAVID L. PAYNE AND THE OKLAHOMA BOOMERS.

By *Carl Coke Rister*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1942. Pp. xiii, 245. \$2.75.)

WHEN the United States redistributed the Indian lands after the Civil War, a region called Oklahoma, about two million acres near the center of the present state of that name, was not assigned to any particular tribe. Soon several thousand homeseekers in Kansas and Texas came to look on that country as a sort of Canaan which they were forbidden to enter by the unjust orders of tyrannical officials. Since it did not belong to any Indian tribe, they argued, it was obviously a part of the public domain and therefore subject to entry and settlement under the Federal homestead law. Repeatedly these would-be settlers entered this area

(and certain other Indian lands also) and were expelled by United States troops. They resented the charge that they were trespassers. In the words of their song "Give us a Home" they were "hard working men,"

Denied the small farms, and by force of arms  
made pris'ners in the name of the Nation.

The homeseekers, called "Boomers," were led by David L. Payne, an Indiana-born rolling stone of the frontier. "He enjoyed risqué stories," says Rister, "played poker with indifferent success, swore on equal terms with border bullwhackers and stage drivers, and drank as much 'red likker' as any man." He was, furthermore, flagrantly careless in money matters, and his housekeeper was his common-law wife. Yet he had a worthy record as a soldier in the Civil War and as an officer in command of troops on the frontier; he served for a period as chairman of a board of church trustees; and he was twice elected to the Kansas legislature.

With Payne "On to Oklahoma" became "an obsession, a tantalizing mirage which ever danced before him." He entered the Indian country with colonists not less than eight times and each time was driven out or taken away to court as a prisoner. Although he was never sent to prison by a judge, he spent much time in the custody of the military, often in miserable circumstances. Death ended Payne's career in 1884, but the opening of Oklahoma to settlement in 1889 (which the author describes in detail) was his posthumous victory.

*Land Hunger* is well planned and well written. David L. Payne is an unforgettable character, and around his life Dr. Rister has woven with great skill the larger story of the Boomers. Brevity and direct approach are outstanding characteristics of the book. There is not a tedious page in it, and nothing seems to be superfluous. The author does not pass judgment on Payne and his fellow Boomers, nor does he engage in lengthy comment or psychological speculation. From more than a thousand documents and three hundred newspaper articles he has drawn a definitive picture of this interesting man and his associates. He does not give footnote citations to sources. He does, however, describe each item of his very comprehensive bibliography.

*Hardin-Simmons University*

RUPERT N. RICHARDSON

THE ROAD TO DISAPPEARANCE. By *Angie Debo*. [The Civilization of the American Indian.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1941. Pp. xii, 399. \$3.50.)

THE pages of this book reveal the tragic story of the Creeks, from their great days as a powerful confederacy to the final destruction of their independent political identity by the Dawes Act. The tragedy is especially moving for the periods of the Red Stick War, the removal to the Oklahoma region, and the Civil War days, when the Creeks were split into Northern and Southern factions.

Rather typical of the story and its presentation is the following paragraph:

England and Spain had professed friendship and then forgotten them, Georgia had crowded them with brutal and unashamed violence, but it was the United States that had held them in check by bribery and humanitarian pretensions and betrayed them into submission. Perplexed and baffled, subdued but still untamed, they entered upon a way beset with difficulties where the assertion of their old spirit would bring disaster (p. 71).

From the account of the removal we take this:

The men were placed in irons, and with their wailing women and children—a total of 2,495 people—were forcibly removed to the West. They were in the most appalling destitution; literally naked, without weapons or cooking utensils, they were set down on their bare new land to live or die (p. 101).

Following the Civil War the Creeks who had been loyal to the Union were addressed by D. N. Cooley, commissioner of Indian Affairs. “In fulsome and pious language he informed these men, who had suffered more for their devotion to the Union than any white population in the United States, that their tribes had ‘rightfully forfeited’ all their money and lands (p. 168).”

There are interesting pages on ancient Creek religious and social institutions in the first chapter and a good description of folkways in chapter ix. But for the most part the volume is devoted to a chronicle of wars, of sufferings, of political conflicts within the nation, and of the continuing struggle with the United States government.

The author says (pp. 313-14) that “the Creeks had a real genius for government. They achieved a democratic conduct of public affairs seldom, if ever, attained by the white man. . . . Unfortunately their financial ability was not equal to their political capacity.” In any event there were never-ending conflicts and recurring failures, the detailed recounting of which finally becomes somewhat wearisome.

The record of the United States in its dealings with the Creeks is not one to be proud of. The breaking of promises, the defrauding, the ruthless aggression—all are marshaled by Miss Debo as a telling indictment of United States Indian policy and administration. She tells the Creek story with deep sympathy. “No white man ever fathomed their mystical love of the soil that made them regard its division into metes and bounds with a horror of dismemberment (p. 369).”

This is the first complete history of the Creeks. The early years of the nation, the removal, and the Civil War period have been presented before. Dr. Debo's own research contribution is for the period since the Civil War. She has incorporated material obtained through interviews with elderly Creeks. The volume carries interesting photographs, good maps, adequate bibliography, and an index.

*Denver, Colorado*

LEROY R. HAFEN

## MORE THAN YOU PROMISE: A BUSINESS AT WORK IN SOCIETY.

By Kathleen Ann Smallzried and Dorothy James Roberts. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1942. Pp. ix, 336. \$3.50.)

IN 1835 John Studebaker closed his forge at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, built three Conestoga wagons and set out for the West. After a seventeen-year sojourn in Ohio the family finally located in South Bend, Indiana. Here the two older sons started a blacksmith shop in 1852 and began to build wagons. Later three other brothers joined them. When the Studebaker Company twenty-four years later took its exhibition to the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia, it was the largest vehicle manufacturing concern in the world. This had been accomplished in an era of small industry and in competition with five thousand other shops making vehicles. Even in the American epic, studded with innumerable success stories, this was an unusual performance. To the patriots, philosophers, and economists of the day it seemed to prove beyond question that America was the land of unbounded opportunity, that the economic policy of laissez faire was essentially sound and that the fittest would survive and come to the top.

That the Studebaker brothers were able men who took advantage of the expanding opportunities in a highly competitive age becomes clear enough in reading this book. But the success was no miracle. To industry, thrift, and honesty they added the policy, expressed in an old Dunkard precept, "More than you promise." Their product was good, their sales methods aggressive, and they had the imagination to predict their market. Their profits were largely plowed back in the business. Moreover, their labor relations represented the best standards of the time. It was a success honestly and intelligently earned. It was after the Studebakers had passed from the scene and a new management had succumbed to the optimism of the 1920's that the company was caught in the depression and failed. But the reputation built up over a period of seventy-five years was great enough to secure financial backing for a reorganization and a new start in the automobile industry.

In brief, this is the story in *More Than You Promise*. The book itself is popularly and interestingly written, obviously intended for the general public and presumably an "official" or "semi-official" work. The volume is a long paean of praise; there is little objective or critical about it. In only one place, where the financial policies during the twenties of President Albert R. Erskine are discussed, is there any intimation of error on the part of the company. *More Than You Promise* sketches the high lights of the history of an important American concern and an interesting industrial family but little more. A considerable portion of the book is devoted to historical background. This is something that a historian appreciates, but much of it is elementary and so far removed from the immediate concern of the company that it could be dispensed with for more pertinent information.



Economists will find less help in the volume than the historians. Problems, policies, and practices, as they concern finance, management, production, markets, competition, costs, wages, and so forth, are touched on but usually in a brief and general way. As a serious economic study it merely scratches the surface. Nevertheless, brief, popular, and uncritical as it is, this volume adds something to the knowledge of our economic history.

*Smith College*

HAROLD U. FAULKNER

THE PULLMAN STRIKE: THE STORY OF A UNIQUE EXPERIMENT AND OF A GREAT LABOR UPHEAVAL. By *Almont Lindsey*, Professor of History, Mary Washington College. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1942. Pp. xi, 385. \$3.75.)

PULLMAN, Illinois, provides material for case studies in so many aspects of the last quarter of the last century that its historian has need for more than normal power of organization and presentation. In its lowest terms it opens up the economic and sociological problems of the "company town." It is not to be ignored as an attempt at a solution of planned living. Its course is so intimately connected with the final chapter in the completion of the American railroad net that it belongs to the history of transportation. In connection with the city of Chicago it bears on the relations of corporations to municipal politics. It has status in the early labor movement, in constitutional law, in the relation of the military to the civil power under the complicated structure of the Federal system. It belongs to the controversy over state rights, and quite by accident it proved to be the booster charge for the career of Eugene V. Debs.

It cannot be said that Professor Lindsey has mastered the "unique experiment." In a sense it has mastered him. He has seen too many sides of the experiment for his title, *The Pullman Strike*, to describe the book; and he has failed to differentiate the Pullman strike, which after all was only just another strike, from the creative effort of the American Railway Union to launch industrial unionism before its day and to test the power of the general boycott. He began his study, attracted by the "social experiment"; he carried on into a probe of labor relations; he ended in the yards and in the courts, as the strike brought into action the full power of the government. The strike aroused his sense of justice, so that he has treated it in the spirit of the advocate, seeing nearly defenseless virtue struggling against the powers of evil.

He has, however, produced the best account of the sequence of events from the moment when George M. Pullman, one of the "tycoons of this era," conceived a model town, located in rural quarantine, where virtue could be made to pay dividends and where vice could not encroach. This was in 1880. He ends, having lost sight of the model town in his larger interest in the strike, with Pullman dead at the end of the century, with the town in the process of liquidation, and

with Debs, martyr of the strike, at the beginning of a significant career. No one has done it better. Perhaps no one can.

*University of California*

FREDERIC L. PAXSON

LABOR'S VOICE IN THE CABINET: A HISTORY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR FROM ITS ORIGIN TO 1921. By *John Lombardi*, Instructor, Social Sciences, Los Angeles City College. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Number 496.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1942. Pp. 370. \$4.00.)

THE author describes the efforts of labor organizations to obtain for wage earners a place in the councils of government and outlines the work of such antecedent agencies as the Bureau of Labor Statistics. A chapter is devoted to the first Secretary of Labor, William B. Wilson, and later sections describe the work of the new department.

The volume is on the whole an excellent study, but certain shortcomings should be noted. The author has not always dug beneath the surface of published accounts. Thus, the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy had its inspiration (as was pointed out by Mock and Larson in *Words That Won the War*) not in labor circles but in the Committee on Public Information. Such records as those of this agency and of the United States Employment Service might have been used to better advantage. The author apparently also made no adequate use of consultations with such men as Hanna, Croxton, and Lauck, who were active in the events described and who could have given invaluable aid as to sources, emphasis, and points of view. It should be noted, incidentally, that important sources recently discovered in connection with the work of the Division of Historical Studies of Wartime Problems in the Bureau of Labor Statistics may significantly supplement the story as told by Mr. Lombardi. At times the narrative drags, as in the listing of proposals and plans which, at least in the author's recital, were left suspended.

Aside from the factual narrative, the study has significance in its description of the difficulties of the secretary in overcoming opposition, skepticism, and indifference and in welding the several agencies transferred to the department into a working organization. Noteworthy was the problem of harmonizing the two main functions of objective fact-finding and the formulation and administration of policy. The establishment of the department was mainly a result of the efforts of labor organizations to induce Congress to create a cabinet post for the handling of labor problems and labor interests in a manner analogous to the work of the Department of Agriculture for farmers and of the Department of Commerce for businessmen. Naturally, the interest of unions was primarily in the

formulation and administration of labor policy. The Bureau of Labor Statistics, however, had been organized and developed into a major fact-finding agency of the government by a man who originally had little knowledge of labor or its problems and who had never been associated with the labor movement. Carroll D. Wright, as commissioner of Labor Statistics, declared as early as 1885 that his office "makes its essential work that of pure fact," and he expressed vigorous opposition to any effort, either by workers or by employers, to obtain from the bureau more or less than this policy implied. Wright established for his agency a well-deserved and world-wide reputation for impartial fact-finding and analysis. Mr. Lombardi credits Secretary Wilson, an ardent unionist primarily interested in labor policies and their administration, with the transfer of this tradition to the new department.

*Washington, D. C.*

WITT BOWDEN

IRON PIONEER: HENRY W. OLIVER, 1840-1904. By *Henry Oliver Evans*. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1942. Pp. xiii, 370. \$3.50.)

THIS is a biographical study of an American industrialist who deserves to be better known. The rise of the Pittsburgh leader, Henry W. Oliver, to wealth, power, and fame was rapid. At the same time he made contributions to the development of the iron and steel industry, as well as in the field of transportation. His endeavors were important at a time when American industrial life was expanding so tremendously during the decades that followed the Civil War.

The career of Henry W. Oliver was similar in many respects to that of his more famous contemporary Andrew Carnegie. Like Carnegie, he was brought to the United States by his parents; his birthplace, however, was in Ireland, not Scotland. Like Carnegie, he began his career as a telegraph messenger boy and like him, his restless ambition led him continually into new ventures. At twenty-three he formed the partnership of Lewis, Oliver, and Phillips and thus became a manufacturer of bolts and nuts. From this time on his activities and success increased until he was an acknowledged industrial and business leader.

The story of Oliver's achievements is given in this volume with much detail. His exploits in the manufacture of iron and steel, in the production of coal and coke, in the origin and growth of the American tin plate industry, and especially in the development of the Lake Superior iron ore regions are well presented. His relations with John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie, John P. Morgan, and other well-known men of that period are depicted. His deals with various industrial and business combinations, leading finally to those with the United States Steel Corporation, ended his "pioneering" in iron and steel. His ventures in railroad development are well told, especially his part in securing routes through Pittsburgh and the story of the never-completed South Penn Railroad, which in

recent years became the route of the Pennsylvania Turnpike. Throughout the book the author gives glimpses of the methods used by business leaders in an age when success alone was the measure and standard of all achievements.

In politics Oliver was not so fortunate. He was an unsuccessful candidate for the United States Senate in 1881, when the legislature of Pennsylvania was called on to select a successor to Senator Wallace. However, Oliver played a part in writing the protective planks in the Republican party platforms of 1872, 1876, and 1880. He was also a member of the tariff commission of 1882 and presided over many of its open meetings. He devoted the last part of his life to ventures in downtown Pittsburgh real estate and to investments in Arizona copper mines.

Although quite uncritical and written somewhat in the Horatio Alger tradition, this biography is of value and is a contribution to the study of American economic development. The author has succeeded in his objective of presenting the life story of a dominant and resourceful personality upon the background of Pittsburgh's industrial growth in the period from 1860 to 1904. From this point of view the book fills a need in the field of American economic history, although it is in no way a scientific treatise of an important industrialist.

*University of Pennsylvania*

ARTHUR C. BINING

TOBACCO TYCOON: THE STORY OF JAMES BUCHANAN DUKE. By *John K. Winkler*. (New York: Random House. 1942. Pp. 337. \$3.00.)

WHEN in the 1890's the evils of cigarettes and monopoly were being laid at the door of James Buchanan Duke and his newly formed "Trust," his old father, Washington Duke, gave utterance to a remark still frequently quoted in North Carolina. "You know," sighed the pious old gentleman, "there are three things I just can't seem to understand: ee-lectricity, the Holy Ghost, and my son Buck."

Another story, this one probably apocryphal but pertinent, has it that not long before his death in 1925 the great tobacco magnate, while slightly tipsy, was accosted by a Methodist preacher. "Why, Mr. Duke, aren't you ashamed to be seen in such a condition, and *you* belong to the Methodist Church!" "Hell, no," replied Duke, "the Methodist Church belongs to me."

The elder Duke, simple, honest tobacco farmer and small-time manufacturer, had known poverty and even hunger. He could understand how a man might work hard for a competency and even for social prestige. His inability to understand his son apparently lay in his failure to appreciate the fact that the latter, while relatively indifferent to money and social prestige as such, was driven by a passionate lust for power which in those days could be obtained by the possession of a great fortune.

How Duke obtained power by gaining complete control of the tobacco industry and a large influence in the electrical and aluminum industries is the unifying theme of Mr. Winkler's interesting and straightforward biography. Following the

models he has previously set for himself in his stories of Rockefeller, Carnegie, the Du Ponts, and others, the author makes no effort to pass moral judgment nor to apportion praise or blame. Above all, he does not psychoanalyze his subject. A biographer of the hero-worshipping type might make Buck Duke out to have been a saint, albeit a practical man of "large" affairs. Indeed, at least two have done so in "official" biographies. A "muckraking" type of biographer could picture him as an unregenerate sinner whose very munificent endowment of religion, education, and hospitals, far from indicating any real repentance or concern for the public interest, was a shrewd scheme to tie in the funds of his foundation with those of the main beneficiary, his daughter Doris, in such a way as to render the latter's estate secure from confiscatory regulation and taxation—both anathemas to Buck. This also has been done in miniature. Then the psychoanalytical type of biographer could doubtless find a number of sources for Duke's compensatory urge to power—his pigeon toes, his early poverty, and above all the fact that no woman appears ever to have loved him—certainly neither of his wives. From this temptation Mr. Winkler also was delivered. In short, he neither overcomplicates nor oversimplifies his subject, with the happy result that we have an interesting, informative, and readable account of a man who indeed was a "tycoon."

*Woman's College of the University of North Carolina*

B. B. KENDRICK

THE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES TOWARD THE NEUTRALS, 1917-1918. By *Thomas A. Bailey*, Stanford University. [The Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, 1941, the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1942. Pp. xvii, 520. \$3.50.)

THIS is an excellent book. It is based on a thorough perusal of the relevant official material and on personal information obtained by the author from those who participated in the shaping and the execution of the policy toward the neutrals in the first World War.

The book has a specific purpose, viz., to establish the truth or falsity of the statement allegedly made (pp. 1-2) by the late Frank L. Polk, then counselor of the State Department, to Arthur J. Balfour, soon after this country entered the war (in 1917), that "it will take us only two months to become as great criminals as you [the British] are."

Professor Bailey subjected to a careful scrutiny America's belligerent policy toward neutrals in the matters of export and import control, rationing and tonnage agreements, bunkers and blacklists, and in those involving freedom of the seas.

After a thorough investigation, which is both skillful and impartial, the author concludes that the alleged prophecy of Mr. Polk did not materialize and

that the conduct of the United States government in the matter was on the whole within the strict letter of international law and not contrary to the position taken by it toward the belligerents while this country was still neutral.

The lesson to be derived from this demonstration is, necessarily, of limited scope, both practically and in regard to legal principles.

First, there was no necessity for the United States to act differently toward the neutrals. On the one hand, this country could exercise a most powerful pressure on the neutrals through its tremendous economic power and by control of its own resources. On the other hand, belligerent control on the high seas, on behalf of all the Allied and associated powers, was taken good care of by England and partly by France.

Second, the sole fact that a given country, which as neutral had claimed certain rights or privileges against the belligerents, would not allow such rights to neutrals when it itself became a belligerent, would not per se make it subject to reproach. One war is local; another is world-wide. In one, economic blockade of the enemy is of paramount importance for the given nation's self-preservation; in another, maritime economic warfare is of no consequence. Again, the availability of weapons of economic warfare on the high sea is different in wars between different states. The economic repercussion of such warfare both on the enemy and on the neutrals is also different in different wars. So, there has never been a complete agreement on the respective rights of neutrals and of belligerents in this matter of economic warfare on the high sea, and this matter, in many of its aspects, has therefore been one of political expediency or necessity and not of legal rights.

The masterful study of Dr. Bailey is of great value to the students of diplomatic history. Besides its informative text, it also contains maps, a select bibliography, and an index. It takes a distinguished place in the excellent collection of Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History.

New York University

ALEXANDER N. SACK

THE CHANGING INDIAN. Edited by *Oliver La Farge*, from a Symposium arranged by the American Association on Indian Affairs, Inc. [The Civilization of the American Indian.] Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1942. Pp. x, 183. \$2.00.)

THE title of this important study, *The Changing Indian*, is surprising, if not startling, to the average American who knows that he himself is living in a dynamic and changing world. To him an Indian is still an Indian, changing little, being in the world but not really part of it.

The Meriam Survey of the Brookings Institution of 1928 proved to be of inestimable value in presenting clearly the condition of the Indian, the failure of the government policy, and what must be done for the Indian if he is to occupy a wholesome and beneficial place in American society and economy. Commis-

sioner of Indian Affairs Rhoads, of the Hoover administration, appreciated the thoroughness of the Meriam report, realized that the Federal Indian policy had not been a success, and tried to do something constructive about it. Happily he was quite successful.

The greatest achievement came, however, with the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 (the Wheeler-Howard Act)—the Indian Magna Carta. The primary purpose of the act was not only to prevent the further dwindling of the Indian lands but to acquire by purchase additional lands which are sorely needed for the various tribes. This basic act proved to be the legal stimulant necessary for the inauguration of the progressive and wise administration of Commissioner John Collier. The reforms that have been initiated by him during the past ten years have been far-reaching. This is the beginning, it seems, of the much-needed long-term planning in the administration of Indian affairs. If that be the case great social, economic, and scientific progress may be expected during the coming years.

When the various associations consolidated in the 1920's to form the American Association on Indian Affairs, one of the prime objectives was to bring science and government together. This was successfully accomplished by forming the Institute on the Future of the American Indian as an organ of the association. The officials and other experts met in March, 1941, to discuss sympathetically and scientifically the problems of the Indian tribes and their possible solution. The first symposium resulted in the publication of this important and useful volume.

This study has made a successful attempt to state clearly the needs of the Indians and the problems that face the tribes as well as those that confront the government officials. In the attempt to find the solution to the current problems the contributors have not neglected the history of Indian administration during the past seventy-five years.

Under the careful editing of Dr. La Farge the symposium resulted in the publication of a worth-while book. It should prove to be valuable to the layman, the expert, and the government official.

*Lehigh University*

GEORGE D. HARMON

THE UNGUARDED FRONTIER: A HISTORY OF AMERICAN-CANADIAN RELATIONS. By *Edgar W. McInnis*, Department of History, University of Toronto. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1942. Pp. 384. \$3.50.)

THIS volume is a study of the most significant problems in Canadian-American relations—problems which were solved without the necessity of appeal to arms and without rivalry in expensive fortifications along the unguarded frontier. The author treats historically (in seventeen chapters) the salient developments in



American-Canadian relations, with emphasis upon causes and effects of disputes and misunderstandings and methods of adjustment and the factors of better understanding and co-operation. This he does without overlooking the dramatic possibilities of the narrative. Avoiding tedious details of diplomacy he clearly explains motives, policies, changing conditions, and the significance of achievements.

Naturally the Canadian author stresses the evolution of Canadian policy. In several chapters he confines his narrative largely to Canadian problems and policies, especially in chapters 1 ("The Face of the Continent"), ix ("The New Orientation"), xii ("The Stronger Nationalism"), and xvi ("The Coming of Age"). In chapter xiv ("On Cross Currents") he treats chiefly Canadian conditions and politics. In chapter xvii ("The New Integration") he traces recent Canadian policy in the problems of co-operation with Great Britain and the United States in the new period of European tension and war since 1939. In this Canada regards itself as fulfilling its manifest destiny as a free and fully co-operating partner in liaison between the British Commonwealth and the United States in attempts to form a common front against the powers of aggression and in the furtherance of a new world order.

Chapter 1 is a most interesting one, treating the complex historical interplay of politics and diplomacy with geography. Mr. McNinnis sees no physical reason or basis which can explain the international division line. He states that this line, which was determined piecemeal under the contributing influence of a wide variety of factors, presents no resemblance to a natural line of demarcation. The extensive unfortified and unguarded frontier and the long period of peace which gave time to overcome the tenacious legacy of distrust inherited from earlier struggles he explains by the firm mutual neighborly desire to share the North American continent (north of Mexico) in amity and without strife. The maintenance of peaceful relations in the face of controversies, jealousies, misunderstandings, and critical situations he attributes to the toleration and common sense of both peoples.

In the last chapter, "The New Integration," he traces the closer relations since 1935, especially influenced by mutual recognition of inevitable responsibilities in world affairs. The new selective integration Mr. McNinnis designates as "a tangible recognition by Canada and the United States of their interdependence in confronting a world crisis" which represents the price of an era of evasions and aloofness since 1919. He says that under the mutual co-operation of policies it "may be a salient landmark in the evolution of the American continent."

The author, who has used no footnote references to authorities, has added a six-and-a-half-page "Note on Bibliography," listing the chief published authorities upon which his work is based. For his factual material he has apparently relied largely upon the volumes of *Canada and Its Provinces* (23 vols.), summaries on various histories of American diplomacy (especially Callahan's *Ameri-*

*can Foreign Policy in Canadian Relations* and Keenleyside's *Canada and the United States*), and recent monographs published under the auspices of the Carnegie Endowment. He presents no evidence that he has used original official or other manuscript sources available at Ottawa, Washington, and London.

The volume is practically free from factual errors. The brief index is hardly adequate. There are some sins of omission, including the omission of maps and important dates needed by the reader. Some of the important subjects are given only casual or incidental attention or inadequate space. Among those barely mentioned or only briefly treated are the Treaty of Ghent, the fisheries convention of 1818, the Halifax award of 1877 and its effects, the reciprocity negotiations of 1888 and 1890-92, the Joint High Commission of 1898, the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909 and later adjustments under its provisions, water diversion for irrigation and sanitation, the permanent International Joint Commission, the St. Lawrence waterway project of 1932, and the Reciprocity agreement of 1935. Some of these subjects do not appear in the index. One might suggest that the author might profitably have included in his excellent summaries a more adequate treatment of the problems of the border waterways and railways.

In some instances the clarity of the narrative could have been improved by a better sequential arrangement of subjects treated. The Newfoundland fishery restrictions of 1905-07 and the adjustment by arbitration of the Hague tribunal in 1910, which is treated (pp. 299-300) before the Bering Sea Fur Seals Controversy (pp. 302-06) and the Alaska boundary controversy (pp. 311-19), logically should be grouped chronologically with a series of adjustments in the decade after the Alaskan adjustment.

Notwithstanding these few imperfections the author has produced a very creditable book for the general reader, a timely and useful contribution. He has synthesized his sifted data into an accurate and absorbingly readable narrative free from ineffectual details. His literary style is vigorous, clear, direct, and concise, attractive from start to finish. His treatment of controversial subjects is judicious and fair, free from any show of partiality or bias.

*West Virginia University*

J. M. CALLAHAN

BRITISH COLUMBIA AND THE UNITED STATES: THE NORTH PACIFIC SLOPE FROM FUR TRADE TO AVIATION. By *F. W. Howay*, *W. N. Sage*, and *H. F. Angus*. Edited by *H. F. Angus*. [The Relations of Canada and the United States: a series of studies prepared under the direction of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History. James T. Shotwell, Director.] (Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1942. Pp. xv, 408. \$3.50.)

THE contents of this volume are considerably wider than the title indicates. The development of British Columbia is the central theme, but the history of its

relations with the United States is described at such length that some chapters are concerned with Washington and Oregon almost as much as with Canadian territory. This is particularly true of the earlier chapters on the fur trade and on the history of British Columbia prior to 1871, which were written by Judge Howay. Professor Sage has written most of the chapters which deal with internal events since confederation. Professor Angus contributed the chapters on the controversies between the province and the United States and also the final chapter. This summarizes rather briefly the development of relations between British Columbians and Americans during the past generation.

The volume is the product of detailed and very thorough research. The number and variety of source references is portentous; but the authors have skillfully welded a vast body of information into a single and coherent whole. The main trends of development stand out clearly and are not obscured by the mass of illustrative detail. The book is clearly and interestingly written, and unlike too many scholarly productions it can be read for pleasure as well as for profit. It satisfies the research criteria of the scholar, and at the same time it should appeal to the well-informed public.

One salient point which constantly emerges is that geographically British Columbia was linked with the Pacific Slope far more than with eastern Canada. Even within the province itself the mining areas near the international boundary were far more accessible from Spokane than from Vancouver. Particularly during the nineteenth century, geography and economics combined to draw the province southwards, and Judge Howay has no trouble in proving that British Columbia must inevitably have been annexed by the United States if it had not joined the Dominion of Canada. Professor Sage shows how the southward pull was counteracted to a considerable extent by the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the partial replacement of American by eastern Canadian and British capital. Gradually also a Canadian patriotism developed, for at the time of confederation a large part of the population of the province was British or American and felt no attachment to Canada. The difference between the Canadian and the American attitude toward government and law enforcement also differentiated the British Columbians from the Americans to the south of them. Another cause of separation which has arisen in the twentieth century is that British Columbia, Washington, and Oregon are largely engaged in producing for foreign markets and that their staple exports—lumber, fish, fruit, and minerals—are competitive. The American tariff is one of the reasons why British Columbia has come to regard itself as part of Canada. The relations between the two peoples on the Pacific Coast are cordial and remarkably friendly; but this results neither from the economic unity of the region nor from reciprocal admiration for one another's brand of democratic institutions.

*University of Minnesota*

LENNOX A. MILLS

THE LETTERS OF JOHN McLOUGHLIN FROM FORT VANCOUVER TO THE GOVERNOR AND THE COMMITTEE: FIRST SERIES, 1825-38. Edited by *E. E. Rich*, Fellow of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, with an Introduction by W. Kaye Lamb, Librarian of the University of British Columbia. [The Publications of the Champlain Society, Hudson's Bay Company Series, IV.] (Toronto: Champlain Society. 1941. Pp. cxxviii, 374, xiii.)

THE publication of John McLoughlin's *Letters* is a matter of importance to the general field of historical scholarship as well as to the study of the regional history of the Pacific Northwest. This volume is evidence of the persistence of academic research in time of war. Not only were the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company stored away for safekeeping, thus making examination and utilization of documents difficult, but communication was slow and involved. Mr. Rich had to carry on his editorial duties in his spare time while in a British army training center. Dr. Lamb, in British Columbia, sometimes had to wait as many as four months for replies to his letters. This difficulty was finally solved by using Post-Letter-Telegrams, and, Dr. Lamb reports, the corrections for about half the introduction were cabled to London by this means. All papers had to be sent in duplicate, spaced a mail apart, from and to London, and the remarkable fact is that everything of importance arrived safely.

But the *Letters* are well worth the effort expended upon the work. Historians of the Pacific Northwest have, at last, a valuable record of the happenings at Fort Vancouver, of the comings and goings of trapping parties and of the marine department, of the character of American opposition and how it was met, of the hazards of the trade, and of the attempts to broaden it with other resources than furs. Here one finds new slants on McLoughlin as the vigorous administrator, proud of his accomplishments, jealous of his prerogatives; but one also discovers the undercurrent of his resentment toward the remote governing board.

The importance of the *Letters* as source material is readily discernible. Dr. W. Kaye Lamb's 128-page introduction is also an important contribution to the field. One feels no hesitation in saying that this introduction—and one assumes the concluding part in the volume to follow to be of equal merit—provides the most authoritative brief account yet published of McLoughlin's life and the history of the company in the Northwest. This is largely due to the type of materials which were available to Dr. Lamb and denied to others who have sought to write on similar subjects. Very probably the objectivity with which Dr. Lamb treats both company and McLoughlin will in large measure be the "Open, Sesame" to further exploration of the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company. Dr. Lamb makes no interpretations; he passes no judgment. His restraint extends even to the character of McLoughlin. It is surprising, indeed, to find a student of such a man's life and career resisting the temptation to point out the interesting recurrence of illnesses whenever a crisis was imminent (pp. xxxix, xlv, xlviii, cii, cxxvi).

In one slight and unimportant matter the reviewer feels Dr. Lamb may have assumed too much from insufficient evidence. On page xlvi he states, "Garry's diary indicates that he and McLoughlin struck up a friendship and spent much time together." A careful examination of the diary fails to convey this idea, and, in fact, the impression one gets is of an exceptional indifference on the part of Mr. Garry to his new associate. Nor can one feel wholly satisfied with the pages describing McLoughlin's role in the events preceding the union of the North West and Hudson's Bay companies. It is not sufficiently clear that there is indisputable evidence that Mr. McLoughlin was the "Wintering Partner" who led the rebellion against the Montreal agents of the North West Company. But this is very probably no fault of Dr. Lamb. It is one of those problems which can best be clarified when the Hudson's Bay Record Society publishes the papers which will disclose the full history of the union and other important matters such as the financial structure of the company and its role, not only as a fur-trading monopoly but as a factor affecting the diplomatic affairs of two worlds. The McLoughlin *Letters* are a step in this direction and afford encouragement to those who anticipate even more significant volumes in time to come.

Reed College

DOROTHY O. JOHANSEN

THREE NEW MEXICO CHRONICLES: THE *EXPOSICIÓN* OF DON PEDRO BAUTISTA PINO, 1812; THE *OJEADA* OF LIC. ANTONIO BARREIRO, 1832; AND THE ADDITIONS BY DON JOSÉ AGUSTÍN DE ESCUDERO, 1849. Translated, with Introduction and Notes, by H. Bailey Carroll and J. Villasana Haggard. [Quivira Society Publications, Volume XI.] (Albuquerque: Quivira Society. 1942. Pp. xxxi, 342. \$10.00.)

This interesting and scholarly volume will be of exceptional value and importance to every student of the Spanish southwest. The book has been developed in very curious fashion. Its basis is the *Exposición* of Pino, published in Cadiz in 1812, which was used by Bancroft and various others and has long been recognized as an invaluable source of information with respect to New Mexico during the closing years of the Spanish regime. In 1832 the young lawyer Barreiro published in Puebla his *Ojeada*, which included the Pino work together with certain notes and additions of his own. Then in 1849, the year following the acquisition of New Mexico by the United States, another lawyer, José Agustín de Escudero, republished in Mexico City the text of both Pino and Barreiro with the addition of his own notes. The editors have translated and edited this Escudero work and by means of an introduction, voluminous explanatory notes, and a glossary, have produced a volume which will be of great interest to the lay reader as well as to specialists in the history of New Mexico. In addition, there has been included in facsimile the text of both Pino and Barreiro.

The Escudero account, which the editors have so beautifully translated, is

divided into sixteen chapters. These include a sketch of the discovery, settlement, and early history of New Mexico, a discussion of its geography, boundaries, and physical aspects, its territorial and civil divisions, governmental administration, the church, legal affairs, public taxes, and census figures giving the population of towns and cities. Other chapters deal with various problems of the province, including economic affairs, education, military, and Indian problems. Trade and commerce are also described and the final chapter is devoted to petitions and instructions. The chapter relative to the Indians is particularly interesting and valuable, while an extensive chapter on natural resources is strongly reminiscent of the writings of an immigration agent or some enthusiastic secretary of a Western chamber of commerce. Despite the enthusiasm manifested for the region by these chroniclers, the reader must be impressed by the fact that both Spain and Mexico shamelessly neglected the province and that such little administration as they gave to it was hopelessly inadequate. The chroniclers show throughout a comprehensive knowledge of their subject and a complete understanding of the needs and problems of the people of this remote region. The book, like all publications of the Quivira Society, is beautifully printed and bound. Scholars in this field of study must feel grateful to the editors for making this rich storehouse of information readily available and cannot fail to be impressed by the great expenditure of time and labor which must have been required to produce such a satisfactory and worth-while volume.

*University of Oklahoma*

EDWARD EVERETT DALE

\* \* \* *Other Recent Publications* \* \* \*

General History

A NEW HISTORY OF MUSIC: THE MIDDLE AGES TO MOZART. By *Henry Prunières*. Translated from the French and edited by *Edward Lockspeiser*. Introduction by *Romain Rolland*. (New York, Macmillan, 1943, pp. 428, \$5.00.)

MESSIAHS: THEIR ROLE IN CIVILIZATION. By *Wilson D. Wallis*. (Washington, American Council on Public Affairs, 1943, pp. 217, cloth \$3.00, paper \$2.50.)

THE TEACHER OF NATIONS: ADDRESSES AND ESSAYS IN COMMEMORATION OF THE VISIT TO ENGLAND OF THE GREAT CZECH EDUCATIONALIST JAN AMOS KOMENSKÝ, COMENIUS, 1641-1941. By *Eduard Beneš* and others. Edited by *Joseph Needham*. (Cambridge, University Press, 1942, pp. vii, 99, \$1.75.) The title of this book gives an accurate indication of its contents. Comenius touched the life of his times at many points. Hence he is known to us as a great internationalist, a great statesman, a great scientist, a great philosopher, or a great educationalist, depending on what our major interests are. His chief contribution to all these lines was the "invisible college," which may be considered as a forerunner of the Royal Society of scientists. Though the "invisible college" never materialized, it was the focal point of Comenius' interest in science, in philosophy, in statesmanship, and a major point in his internationalism and education. Out of his pansophic ideal also grew the Encyclopedia Britannica, but the idea of the "invisible college" itself never developed. It probably was, however, the basis for his interest in the presidency of Harvard College, or rather for the interest of the trustees of that institution in Comenius and his ideas. Within the first five years of the founding of Harvard they endeavored to obtain him as president. But in the end the chief influence of the great educator upon the schools of America was exerted, as in the schools of other countries, mainly by his textbooks, which were comparatively widely used in the colonial grammar schools—evidenced in the entries of various town meetings that have been preserved. President Conant of Harvard, who is one of the contributors to this volume, says that a copy of Comenius' *Janua Linguarum* still exists in the Harvard library, with the name of an early Indian student inscribed on the flyleaf. In fact, Comenius is known to his own generation chiefly as the author of these textbooks, for his interest focused on making the acquisition of the Latin language, which was then the chief objective of all schools, a pleasurable and successful task. Thus he laid a foundation for a broader internationalism, and by using the language for the study of things (*Janua rerum*) he laid the basis for a greater knowledge of science as well. Comenius was the author of almost one hundred textbooks and treatises on education and gained enduring renown as an educator. Though his influence is chiefly a thing of the past, politically the present situation has created a new appreciation of Comenius the internationalist, an ecclesiastic of wide outlook, and a great leader of the Czech people who contributed through his insight to the advancement of all people. Consequently these exercises at Cambridge, which he visited some two hundred years ago, the occasion celebrated by these addresses. PAUL MONROE

EASTERN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES. By *Josef Hanč*, Lecturer in International Law and Organization, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. [Amer-



ica Looks Ahead, No. 7.] (Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1942, pp. 95, 50 cents.) The latest publication in the "America Looks Ahead" series is devoted to eastern Europe and the United States. Its author is Dr. Josef Hanč, who is at present connected with Tufts College. In a very condensed but clear style the author presents interesting data concerning America's stake in eastern Europe, which includes not only dollars and cents but political, moral, and social stakes. The figures concerning America's economic interests are not too impressive and, the reviewer fears, might even arm the isolationists with plausible arguments. However, Dr. Hanč has another plea which seems more convincing, and that is the favorable record of eastern Europe for the last twenty years preceding the present war. Here one can find indeed what the book calls "the bright side of the ledger." It justifies the author's refutation of the Nazi thesis, namely, that the small nations suffer from an innate incapacity to maintain their statehood. They maintained it until they were betrayed by "geo-" and other politics. Considering the limited space within which Dr. Hanč had to present his extremely complex subject, the book is admirably done and deserves favorable comment.

ANATOLE G. MAZOUR

DEVELOPMENT OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, & GERMANY. By *W. A. McConagha*. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1942, pp. ix, 199, \$2.50.) This volume, as the author states in the preface, does not "pretend to be a work of original research, adding, presumably, to the world's stock of knowledge." The intent of the book evidently is to give a narrative rather than a history of the labor movements in the three leading industrial countries of Europe. Within these limits the book certainly has its merits. It might well help to give to the American student a more than national perspective and so open his eyes to fundamental and therefore universal problems of labor in the different phases of the capitalistic system. The similarity of trends and even forms between the three European labor movements is, indeed, the striking impression that this narrative gives, in spite of all differences in socio-economic structure and cultural background. Not less striking are the parallels to the American development, again with all reservations imposed by the profound difference in setting and structure. If we miss something particularly in this book, it is a set of general conclusions, based upon these parallels in facts and forming an avenue to a theory of labor movements. The short "Introduction," substantial as it is, is no substitute for such a conclusive summing up. One other gap is particularly regrettable. The narrative of the German development ends with 1920. The student learns almost nothing about the fate of the German labor movement under the Weimar Republic, about the hopeful horizons under which this period began, and about the pathetic—and, I think, very instructive—dilemma resulting from the conflict between traditional ideologies and the demands of reality.

OSCAR WEIGERT

WORLD ORGANIZATION: A BALANCE SHEET OF THE FIRST GREAT EXPERIMENT. [A Symposium of the Institute on World Organization.] (Washington, American Council on Public Affairs, 1942, pp. xiv, 426, \$3.75, paper \$3.00.) Twenty scholars and present or past officers of the League of Nations or other international bodies have contributed to this book, which will be welcomed especially by teachers and students of international organization. The scope of the symposium is wide, comprehending the World Court and the International Labor Organization as well as the political and legal significance of the League and major aspects of its administrative work. It goes far toward supplying the need for factual, well-balanced analyses of less publicized accomplishments and failures in such fields as economics and finance,

health, narcotics, communications and transit, and intellectual co-operation. There are substantial, thoughtful chapters on armaments, mandates and colonies, minorities, Danzig, the Saar, and the relation of the American continent to the League. Each contributor is attentive to the applicability of experience to the planning of a better postwar world. So valuable a volume deserves an index and a bibliography. It is greatly to be hoped that it will be read and re-read by members of national legislative bodies and by the more untutored of the peace-planners. They cannot do better than to heed the wise words of Carl Hambro: "Every constitutional move in League affairs has marked a step in the direction of what might be called democratic control of foreign policy"; of Pitman Potter: "It is certainly clear that no pan-American system alone, and no Allied-plus-pan-American system, and no union of democratic nations, nor any other such partial and facile escape from the problem of world organization is going to be of any serious value"; of Arthur Sweetser: "Governments and peoples must . . . recognize some higher authority, accept certain restrictions on their freedom of action, admit the principle of community responsibility." One cannot pay higher tribute to this collection of honest, thoroughly informed essays than to say that it embodies the spirit of the secretariat, the heart of the League, at its best.

HAROLD S. QUIGLEY

WORLD ORDER IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE. By *Hans Kohn*, Sydenham Clark Parsons Professor of History in Smith College. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1942, pp. xiv, 352, \$3.00.) This book completes the author's series dealing with the current crisis. Its predecessors, *Force or Reason*, *Revolutions and Dictatorships*, and *Not by Arms Alone*, cannot be separated from this volume in the development of its broad thesis. In the strictest sense, the work is not history; it is a political tract documented and informed by historical material. Its character as political writing is sufficiently indicated by the chapter headings—"Democracy: The Way of Man," "Nationalism: The Way of Society," "Empire: The Way of Mankind," and "Crisis: The Way of Civilization." The book contains, as is inevitable with such captions, very large generalizations, which are its strength because they illuminate the problem. At the same time, from the standpoint of historical scholarship, they cannot be documented with precision. Sometimes important factors are passed over; for example, the statement that "the struggle between democracy and reaction in Europe one hundred years ago was strictly limited to that continent" (pp. 3-4) omits any reference to the Monroe Doctrine and the reflected struggle in South America. In other instances the argument turns upon quotations from the extremist fringe of political movements. There is also a slight tendency to grasp at straws, such as clothing the phrase "United Nations" with a reality which it has not yet achieved in practice. The volume is nonetheless historical writing of a high order, for it is based upon extraordinarily wide reading, reflected in well-documented notes. Being devoted essentially to the history of ideas rather than to political events alone, it is a splendid antidote to current preoccupation with *Geopolitik*. It is perceptive in a high degree and lucid in expression. It unites scholarship and eloquence, historical perspective and prophetic zeal in proposing a solution of the crisis of our age: "a revival of the fundamental attitudes of democracy," "a reconsideration of nationalism" which must be "de-politized," and "a resumption of the old imperial idea based upon the oneness of mankind and of civilization" (p. 282).

HENRY M. WRISTON

STUDIES IN DIPLOMACY AND STATECRAFT. By *G. P. Gooch*. (London, Longmans, Green, 1942, pp. vii, 373, \$5.00.) "How rulers and statesmen have used or ought to use their powers, particularly in the realm of foreign affairs, is the central

theme of the studies collected in this volume." Five of the essays deal with pre-1914 diplomacy: "Franco-German Relations, 1870-1914" (revised and enlarged, since first publication in 1923, with material from *Documents diplomatiques français*); "The Diplomatic Background of the First World War" (new, but reminiscent in its conclusions of *Recent Revelations of European Diplomacy*); "British Policy before the War of 1914 in the Light of the Archives"; "Prince Bülow and His Memoirs"; and "Kiderlen-Wächter, the Man of Agadir." "British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939," sums up "with malice toward none and with charity for all" the story of two decades which, Mr. Gooch concludes, "illustrates anew . . . the bitter cry of Oxenstierna . . . *Quantula sapientia mundus regitur* [and] the maxim of Frederick the Great: 'Diplomacy without armaments is like music without instruments.'" The seventh essay surveys "Political Autobiography" from Babur to Hitler; the eighth, "The French Revolution as a World Force," stresses the influence of the Declaration of the Rights of Man. The two last deal with "Politics and Morals" (the problem of Machiavelli) and "Hobbes and the Absolute State." Spread over the areas in which the author has long been a recognized authority, they display his characteristic sanity of interpretation and judgment and his ability to seize the essence of a huge mass of material.

L.D. STEEFEL

THE ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION OF LITHUANIA AFTER 1918. By *Anicetas Simutis*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1942, pp. xiii, 148, \$1.50.) This small book on the economic reconstruction of Lithuania must be greeted as a timely publication. In these days, when the problem of the political and economic reconstruction of Europe is a question of the next day, the American reader needs objective information about the small national states whose existence will be at stake in the reconstruction. In the introduction the author gives a short historical sketch of the country, too short to explain why Lithuania became a peasant nation, deserted by its own aristocracy, with other nationalities populating its cities. In this respect the lot of the Lithuanians is very similar to that of the Ukrainians with whom they lived for centuries in the same political boundary. A large portion of the book deals with the Lithuanian agrarian reform, the agricultural co-operative movement, and the development of agriculture during the period 1919-39. Some comparisons with the earlier years preceding World War I are also given. This part is particularly interesting, since it shows how much Lithuanian agriculture had improved during the time Lithuania was an independent state, and the role of the agrarian reform and the co-operative movement in this improvement. This improvement took place in spite of the very difficult political situation of Lithuania. Lithuanian political difficulties are illustrated by the development of her foreign trade, presented in the fourth chapter of the book. It shows that, for political reasons, her trade with the nearest neighbor—Poland—was nil; her trade with Russia also was very small, except during prewar years; and her trade with Germany, although the largest, was subject to violent fluctuations mainly because of political causes. Her trade relations with Great Britain, however, were more stable. In spite of this situation, Lithuania succeeded in developing her exports of animal and other agricultural products to a considerable extent, and this contributed greatly to the intensification of her agriculture. Two short chapters deal with Lithuanian manufacturing industry and finance. The appendix gives a few documents, mainly political treaties, and the bibliography covers four pages. The author does not make much of an effort to explain the economic development of the country; he simply describes it. But by limiting his problem thus, he accomplishes it carefully, and the reader will find sufficient and well-organized information which will enable him to make his own conclusions.

V. P. TIMOSHENKO

THE GREEK WHITE BOOK: DIPLOMATIC DOCUMENTS RELATING TO ITALY'S AGGRESSION AGAINST GREECE. Issued in co-operation with the Greek Office of Information. (Washington, American Council on Public Affairs, 1943, pp. 121, cloth \$2.00, paper \$1.50.) "Diplomatic documents relating to Italy's aggression against Greece issued on Greek Independence Day in cooperation with the Greek Office of Information."

RACIAL ASPECTS OF ROMANIA'S CASE. By *Charles Upson Clark*. (New York, the author, Yale Club, 1941, pp. xii, 50.) In this brief study about one half is text and the rest consists of tables, summarized from Volume II of the Rumanian census of 1930. This brochure deals exclusively with racial statistics, and these are here offered as evidence of the absolute or relative Rumanian majority in all of the provinces (in 1930) and in most of the seventy-one constituent counties. Because of this majority the author protests the territorial losses in 1940 of Rumania to Hungary and Russia. He urges that no permanent peace is possible in eastern Europe while Rumanians are deprived of rights now so clearly statistically confirmed. The evidence seems convincing enough; yet the study serves to show how complex rather than how simple the racial problem is and will be.

PAULINE R. ANDERSON

STATISTICAL ACTIVITIES OF THE AMERICAN NATIONS, 1940. Edited under the Direction of the Temporary Organizing Committee of the Inter American Statistical Institute by *Elizabeth Phelps*. (Washington, Inter American Statistical Institute, 1941, pp. xxxi, 842, \$2.00.) This reference work presents timely information about the statistical activities related to the collection, processing, and publication of social and economic information in the twenty-two republics of the Western Hemisphere.

THE WAR: THIRD YEAR. By *Edgar McInnis*, Associate Professor of History, University of Toronto. With a Foreword by Walter Millis. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1942, pp. xvii, 347, \$2.00.) With the transformation of the European war into a global struggle, the need for someone to outline, analyze, integrate, and interpret the widely separated events manifestly increased. Professor McInnis' fitness for this task is revealed by the way he has cut through the complex and bewildering mass of details to present in broad outline the major objectives, the fundamental issues, and the significant successes and failures in the war from October 1, 1941, to September 30, 1942. The four chapters, originally published at different times, have unavoidably a certain artificiality in their organization and treatment. But it is surprising to what an extent a dominant theme is found for each three-month period: October to December, 1941, the Nazi failure to crush Russia and the consequent necessity (according to the author) of pushing Japan into the war; January to March, 1942, Japan's victorious advance in the Pacific; April to June, 1942, the checking of the Russian counteroffensive by the Nazis, the checking of Marshal Rommel at El Alamein by the British, the checking of Japan's expansion in the Pacific by the Americans; July to September, 1942, the approaching deadlock resulting from the Nazi conquest of the Ukraine, the Donets basin, and the North Caucasus, and Japan's acquisition of the resources of Burma, Malaya, and the Dutch East Indies. "In contrast to the position three years before, the prospect was in sight that the Axis would be able to create a strong if not an impregnable position; and even if they would have to renounce total victory, they might be able to force a deadlock which would avoid utter defeat." Though readers may disagree with some of his judgments—regarding Japan's reasons for entering the war, for instance—they will be grateful to the author for his skillful clarification of the third year of the war. F. LEE BENNS

## ARTICLES

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Ancient History<sup>1</sup>

T. R. S. Broughton

QUINTUS AURELIUS SYMMACHUS AND THE SENATORIAL ARISTOCRACY OF THE WEST. By *John Alexander McGeachy, jr.* (Chicago, private edition, distributed by the University of Chicago Libraries, 1942, pp. iii, 203.) A careful study of the ancient sources and the modern literature has enabled Mr. McGeachy in some degree to revivify a well-worn topic. After a careful account of Symmachus' life he considers in successive chapters the place of the senatorial aristocracy, to which Symmachus belonged, in the political, social, religious, and intellectual history of the later fourth century. He writes clear and incisive English, and his treatment of the different sections is well-balanced. The result is a very serviceable monograph. He might perhaps have brought out a little more strongly the contrast between Valentinian's and Gratian's policy toward the Roman aristocracy. The consistency of Theodosius' attitude to religious orthodoxy would have appeared in a clearer light

<sup>1</sup> Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

if Mr. McGeachy had emphasized that the emperor's aim was not only to crush paganism but, as proceedings taken between 379 and 389 against various Christian sects show, to stamp out heresy. If, as is likely, the author of *De promissionibus* (p. 147) was Quodvultdeus, who composed the tract in Campania, the story of Symmachus' deportation from Milan gains in probability, since Quodvultdeus may have learned it from an Italian source. On page 19 Mr. McGeachy repeats an error previously made by Seeck. The palimpsest containing Symmachus' speeches (*Vat. 5750 + Ambros. E 147 sup.*) also contains the *Scholia Bobiensia* on Cicero, not *De republica*, which is in a different codex (*Vat. 5757*). A full description of these manuscripts, which supersedes all previous accounts, will be found in E. A. Lowe, *Codices latini antiquiores*, I, nos. 26-31 and 34-35. M. L. W. LAISTNER

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## Medieval History

*Gaines Post*

ROLLS OF THE GLOUCESTERSHIRE SESSIONS OF THE PEACE, 1361-1398.

Edited by *Elisabeth Guernsey Kimball*, Westbrook Junior College, Portland, Maine, U.S.A. [Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, Volume LXII, for the year 1940.] (Kendal, Titus Wilson and Son, 1942, pp. 185.) Of the four documents here published three are rolls of peace sessions for 1361-63, 1378, and 1384-86. The fourth, the latest (1395-98) and "most interesting," is not really a roll but a collection of material hastily put together for the visit of the king's bench to Gloucester in 1398. Especially noteworthy are the indictments of the heads of various religious houses and some laymen for violation of the statute of 1394 protecting salmon. The justices were given the power, not included in their regular commission, to enforce this statute. The trials of the heads of the religious houses, until the removal of the cases to the king's bench, are reported in unusual detail. These cases seem to have as much "economic" interest as the four strictly "economic" indictments Miss Kimball notes in her analysis of the offenses. In general only occasional economic and social glimpses of Gloucestershire, forest, vale, and hill are given. Rather puzzling is the editor's statement that, with few exceptions, the people found on these rolls represent the rank-and-file of the "middle-class" population. These rolls, like those of many other counties, afford no evidence that the Gloucestershire justices of the peace used the power of determining felonies given them in all commissions, except that of 1384. In following up the indictments in the king's bench, Miss Kimball shows that its record in bringing offenders to justice was not brilliant. More cross references in several instances where two different hundred juries presented the same offense (*cf.* Roll I, nos. 8, 51) would have given the reader a clearer understanding of the outcome of the indictments. The Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society and Miss Kimball are to be congratulated on producing such an admirable volume in 1942. Because of wartime difficulties Miss Kimball could not verify references to manuscripts in the Public Record Office nor see the page proof to eliminate some relatively unimportant typographical errors in the text. The absence of a map is regrettable. Mr. Roland Austin, F.S.A., editor of the *Transactions*, compiled the excellent index.

ELIZABETH CHAPIN FURBER

BARTOLUS ON SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY. By *Anna T. Sheedy*. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Number 495.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1942, pp. 267, \$3.25.) With the exception of the introductory chapter on the life and writings of Bartolus, this book impresses the reviewer as a rather dull legalistic treatment of the ordinarily fascinating subject



of human relationships. Doubtless it is not entirely the fault of the author, for a survey of Italian society as reflected in the works of a fourteenth century law professor must be, perforce, a lawyer's-eye view. Nonetheless, the historian will not find his enjoyment of Renaissance history enhanced by this legalistic approach, nor by the multiplicity of technical expressions dear to the law, with which the survey is laden. So far as scholarly qualities are concerned, the author's research is sound and thorough. The contribution to our knowledge of Italian social conditions is relatively small. As the author herself modestly puts it, the book contributes to our understanding of the era "by supplementing and confirming knowledge derived from other materials and by reflecting contemporary attitudes" (p. 243). Successive chapters concerning family life, the city, the nobility, universities, religion, "Franciscan Poverty," and "Heretics and Jews" reveal nothing of fundamental importance that has not been known concerning social conditions in the *trecento*. Noteworthy, however, are highlights such as the repeated evidences of Bartolus' complete subservience to religious authority, a characteristic frequently lost sight of in Renaissance studies. Occasionally the reader glimpses interesting bits of information, such as the legal obligations of a mother to nurse her child or of a father to provide textbooks for his son, reflections on the fickleness of women, legal technicalities related to gambling, and professorial classroom discipline. For the most part, however, Bartolus' legalism obscures the scene like a heavy cloud. The book will be useful to social historians, and perhaps both useful and interesting to lawyers. To employ a photographic analogy, it is an unusual and difficult "angle shot," which gives us a new and revealing, but none too attractive, "slant" on a popular subject.

LOREN C. MacKINNEY

NO ROYAL ROAD: LUCA PACIOLI AND HIS TIMES. By R. Emmett Taylor. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1942, pp. ix, 445, \$4.00.) *The Life and Times of*—is a very flexible genre. It permits a writer to range widely through the personalities, ideals, customs, and events of the period in which his subject lived. Does he know great men? Their accomplishments are grist to the author's mill. Does he live in a city for a time? Its games, dress, architecture, government, industries can all be levied upon. Mr. Taylor has exercised his full rights and even given himself license in these matters. Pacioli, his central figure, is known today as the author of the first treatise on double-entry bookkeeping, setting forth the practice of the Venetian merchants. It was published in 1494. He was a Franciscan friar, and he joined the order, Mr. Taylor tells us, in order to teach. "The Pope was a Franciscan, and two of Pacioli's nephews belonged to the Order. Pacioli himself liked teaching, and nothing would be simpler than to become a Franciscan and to teach. This step would be possible if one became a Conventual of the Franciscan Order" (p. 111). This explanation does not quite satisfy the author, however, and a little later he says: "By his very nature Pacioli was a deeply religious man and because of this, as well as for possible reasons of expediency, he joined the Franciscan Order" (p. 125). Pacioli was certain of the fundamental value of mathematics: "no one will claim that arithmetic, geometry, proportion, and proportionality are of secondary importance. All other things are of secondary importance. . . . The Highest Workman has always kept this before His eyes in the disposition of heavenly and earthly matters" (p. 194). Pacioli, one gathers, valued acquaintance with men of high place. He was, I fear, a climber. Mr. Taylor, I imagine, would be loath to agree to that. The book is *virginibus puerisque*: Lodovico il Moro adored his wife, Beatrice d'Este (p. 218), took over the government of Milan because the people wanted him to (p. 247), and his devotion to religion was noted by Pacioli himself (p. 265).

G. C. SELLERY

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 MARGARET SCHLAUCH-GUSTAVE REESE. The Hewitt Edition of the *Odhecaton*. *Ibid.*  
 N. PEVSNER. The Term "Architect" in the Middle Ages. *Speculum*, Oct.  
 K. J. CONANT. Mediaeval Academy Excavations at Cluny, VII. *Ibid.*  
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 MAURICE DANLOUX-DUMESNILS. Angkor. *Bull. études franç.*, Nov.

## Modern European History

## BRITISH EMPIRE

F. H. Herrick

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF LADY KATHERINE PASTON, 1603-1627. Edited with Introduction and Notes by *Ruth Hughey*. [Norfolk Record Society, Volume XIV.] (Norfolk Record Society, C. H. W. Page, Secretary, The Grange, North Walsham, Norfolk, 1941, pp. xiv, 152.) The happy Paston habit of preserving family correspondence did not, as has commonly been supposed, end with the death of Sir John Paston in 1503. His descendants accumulated a further collection, now in the British Museum, from which a competent editor has selected eighty-five letters for publication. These letters center around Katherine Paston (1578?-1628), the wife of Sir Edmund Paston. Her husband was the grandson of the wealthy and rather willful Sir William Paston (1528-1610). Because of the incapacity of his only son, Christopher, Sir William's estates had been placed in trust, a liberal allowance having been set aside for his grandson. Sir Edmund Paston, a somewhat ineffective and querulous gentleman, was infirm in health as early as 1618 and surrendered most

business and family responsibilities to his wife, who managed him and his affairs with a calm and practiced touch. Indeed, one gains the impression from these letters that Lady Paston, like so many women of her class and period, possessed an unusual competence and an impressive knowledge of practical affairs. The earlier letters in Miss Hughey's series are principally concerned with property matters and with litigation growing out of Sir William's trust. While narrow in their interest, these letters abundantly demonstrate Lady Paston's shrewdness and pertinacity. William Paston, the older of Sir Edmund's two sons, was quite evidently his mother's pride and special concern. About half the letters in the series were written to him by Lady Paston while he was an undergraduate in Cambridge from 1624 to 1627. Lady Paston's letters are intimate documents that reveal a warm, generous, and intelligent woman. She advises her son, with careful regard for his sex and age, on his spiritual and temporal estate, his manners, his dress, his diet, and, somewhat less certainly, on his studies. These are most interesting letters, though they are not of considerable historical significance. Miss Hughey has provided a well-ordered introduction, voluminous notes, and a really satisfactory index. The society is to be congratulated on having produced a beautiful piece of bookmaking despite the difficulties of the wartime economy.

W. K. JORDAN

A HISTORY OF MODERN LIBERTY. By *James MacKinnon*, Regius Professor Emeritus of Ecclesiastical History, University of Edinburgh; Formerly Lecturer in History, University of St. Andrews. Volume IV, THE STRUGGLE WITH THE STUARTS, 1647-1689. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1941, pp. xiii, 523, \$6.40.) In this volume Professor MacKinnon surveys some libertarian trends in England and Scotland in the period indicated. Although recently printed, the manuscript was largely written and its viewpoint formulated some thirty-five years ago when the preceding volume, which this was immediately intended to follow, was published. The present installment begins with no reference to what has gone before and is singularly lacking in direction. Here and there the author evokes a generalization of some breadth and pith, always pedestrian, however; but for the most part he and his subject wander in a forest of trivia as his Scottish colonels wandered through their native valleys in their campaign against Cromwell, a subject receiving far too much space in a volume of this supposed character. Notwithstanding his general title, Mr. MacKinnon has nowhere conveyed the sense and significance of his subject; rather, he has largely contented himself with a superficial sketch of personal politics, puffed out with infinitesimal detail. One might easily gain the impression that the entire history of modern liberty was modified by the "extraordinary rain" in 1647; and there is far too much of "on the night of the 11th," "interposed the Chief Justice," and lengthy quotation. The viewpoint is that what happened *was of course for the best*. No suggestion of social problems, economic policy, or scientific ferment appears; even religious questions, freedom of speech, and toleration are no more than nubby projections from politics. The two chapters on political theorists treat the most conventional figures in the most orthodox way. Although the work shows acquaintance with assorted journals and memoirs, such a topic demands far wider and deeper foundations. In consequence, the history of modern liberty, irrespective of circumstance one of the noblest subjects, still awaits its author, who unfortunately will derive little positive assistance from this present work.

CHARLES F. MULLETT

THE BRITISH COLONIAL EMPIRE. By *W. E. Simnett*. (New York, W. W. Norton, 1942, pp. 255, \$3.00.) The editor of *The Crown Colonist* prepared this survey of the territories controlled by the British colonial office to acquaint Americans and his

countrymen further with the problems of British colonial rule. The author presents terse summaries of conditions and problems existing in the various British colonies, the central administration from London, the colonial systems of other nations, and policies for the future. He is a stout advocate of Britain's objective of preparing colonial peoples for eventual self-government and declares himself "vigilantly critical" of the execution of that policy. Most Americans could read this short and fact-packed volume advantageously. The author knows colonial rule and effectively presents empire as something more than grab and selfish exploitation. And the question of the future of the millions living in colonial dependency is a problem of which too little is popularly known and which is certain to be acute in the postwar period. The author's discussion of a Council of Africa to oversee the policies of states with African possessions and of a possible international body to scrutinize the administration of all colonies is convincing, even if his defense of continued exclusively national rule appears too strenuous. Unhappily Mr. Simnett's deferential attitude toward British rule and the cumulative impression that Britain assumed obligations largely to render service and nearly always secured the approval of the informed and fair-minded population of the colonies detracts from both a good record and a useful volume. There are some errors. For example, the Cyprus tribute, save once, was never paid directly to Turkey but was rather applied to discharge the interest of a Turkish loan guaranteed by Britain and France in 1855. Nor was the payment stopped in 1914 but continued as the share of Cyprus in the Ottoman public debt (p. 33).

LEE E. LAWRENCE

#### HISTORY OF THE GREAT WAR: MILITARY OPERATIONS, EAST AFRICA.

Compiled by Lieutenant Colonel *Charles Hordern*, Late Royal Engineers and General Staff. Founded on a Draft by the Late Major *H. FitzM. Stacke*, the Worcestershire Regiment. Vol. I, AUGUST, 1914-SEPTEMBER, 1916. (London, H. M. Stationery Office; New York, British Information Services, 1941, pp. xl, 603, \$5.50.) In World War I East Africa was a sideshow, and this volume, although it is bulky, occupies a minor place in the military history of World War I. The campaign was fought over an area twice as large as Germany in which there were no vital points whose seizure would cripple the enemy. The result was a groping campaign of skirmishes, of improvised maneuvers, of experimental stabs into the emptiness of a trackless wilderness in which tropical diseases, heat, and exhaustion (not to mention the wild bees which sometimes routed both British and German forces) did more damage than bullets. When trucks sometimes took a day to advance a single mile, it is hardly surprising that the campaign degenerated into four years of floundering, at the end of which the German commander, von Lettow, was still at large. The Boer War experience of the South African troops and the Indian experience of Indian regiments both proved unavailing under conditions of tropical fighting. It is the scrappy and inconclusive nature of the entire campaign that explains the chief weakness of the book itself. Insufficient and unsatisfactory records were kept, so that the editors have obviously been at great pains to assemble sufficient firsthand and authoritative information in order to compile this record. This was the natural result of a campaign so shapeless, so endless, and in the end so purposeless. A blockade of the coast and small containing forces on the frontier would have been enough. The book reveals one remarkable fact. It is some correction of the exaggerated emphasis which historians sometimes place on colonial rivalry before 1914 to find that both Germans and British were hopelessly unprepared in East Africa when the war broke out. The Germans did not have an accurate map of their own territory, while both British and Germans were hardly better off for equipment than the Belgians or Portuguese.

C. W. DE KIEWIET

OTTAWA, CAPITALE DU CANADA, DE SON ORIGINE Á NOS JOURS. By *Lucien Brault*, Historien honoraire de la Cité d'Ottawa, président de la Société d'Histoire d'Ottawa. Preface by Gustave Lanctot. (Ottawa, Les éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1942, pp. 305, \$2.00, by mail \$2.10.) This is a doctoral thesis submitted to the University of Ottawa by an experienced researcher on the staff of the Public Archives of Canada, and it is one of the best histories of a Canadian city that has yet been written. From the beginning of the city as the construction base of the Rideau Canal in 1827, through its rise as an important lumbering center, and its flowering as the capital first of united Canada and, from 1867, of the dominion, Dr. Brault has given a lively account of the many-sided life of the place. One wishes that he had enlarged some of his tales, for he knows his stuff, he has an eye for the picturesque, and he has a fine sense of humor. It is a fitting reminder of the dual nationality of Canada and of its capital city that this history should be written by a French Canadian in his native language.

A. L. BURT

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## FRANCE

LE PEUPLEMENT DES ANTILLES FRANÇAISES AU XVII<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE: LES ENGAGÉS PARTIS DE LA ROCHELLE (1683-1715). By G. Debien. [Notes de l'histoire coloniale—II.] (Cairo, l'Institut français d'Archéologie, 1942, pp. 222.) Professor Debien, an early French Caribbean history specialist residing in Cairo but who habitually returned to his native France for research purposes in brighter days, here makes a major contribution to our knowledge of French colonization under the Old Regime. Holding that insufficient attention has been paid to the peopling of the Antillean possessions, the jewels of the first French colonial empire, he has made a careful analysis of a hitherto unexploited collection of emigration records at Rochelle, a leading point of departure, covering the last half of Louis XIV's reign, with interesting results. He finds that periods of social unrest definitely stimulated Atlantic crossings, that the great colonizing companies actively recruited indentured servants, that Canada had few attractions compared to the sugar islands, that the contractees came from all portions of the country, that the vast majority were of peasant stock but that they included a surprisingly large number of skilled artisans, that great diversity prevailed in individual contracts, that the overwhelming majority embarked for Santo Domingo, that Protestants appear neither to have been discriminated against nor deported, that few criminals were sent overseas, that most indentured servants welcomed this means of starting life anew under more favorable circumstances and suffered no loss of social status in their own or other's eyes in doing so.

LOWELL RAGATZ

FRANCE, 1715-1815: A GUIDE TO MATERIALS IN CLEVELAND. By John Hall Stewart, Assistant Professor of History, Western Reserve University. [Flora Stone Mather College Historical Studies.] (Cleveland, Western Reserve University Press, 1942, pp. xxxiii, 522, \$5.00.) In preparing a bibliography of materials pertaining to French history from 1715 to 1815 in the principal libraries of Cleveland (those of Western Reserve University, the Cleveland Public Library, and the Library and Museum of the Western Reserve Historical Society) Professor Stewart has performed one of the most useful of tasks. His book conforms to a high standard of bibliographic technique; it is thoroughly indexed; and it will enable the student or the scholar to ascertain quickly what material is locally available. Some of this material is rare, at



least in this country, and some of it is curious. For example, the following item (no. 3465): "FISHER BODY CRAFTSMAN'S GUILD. *Instruction sheets for making Fisher Body Craftsman's Guild miniature model Napoleonic coach*, 2 v., Detroit, n.d." On the whole, however, the 5,175 items comprised in the bibliography, about eight hundred of which were presented to Flora Stone Mather College by Professor Henry E. Bourne, are of high average quality. In one respect only, the delicate matter of the classification of items, is the book open to criticism. Under the principal subdivisions for material there are numerous topical captions, and here the effort to be meticulous has resulted in some questionable classifications. Thus Crane Brinton, *A Decade of Revolution, 1789-1799* (item 2182), is correctly placed under "Standard Accounts" of the French Revolution, but Leo Gershoy, *The French Revolution, 1789-1799* (item 2269), appears under "Miscellaneous General Works" on the Revolution, and Louis Gottschalk, *The Era of the French Revolution* (item 628), is listed under "Standard Accounts" of the Old Regime. Among other cases of this sort are the following: Two works on the émigrés abroad (Félix Magnette, item 2305, and Pierre de Vaissière, item 2314) are listed under "Political and Legal" material on the Revolution, while two others (Frances S. Childs, item 2454, and Thomas Wood Clarke, item 2455) appear under the caption "Foreign Relations and Diplomacy." Several books on the Vendean war are separated under three different captions (pp. 176-77, 186, 188). And so forth. In most of these instances cross references correct what might otherwise seem idiosyncrasies. And, obviously, these flaws are not of a nature to impair the utility of the book.

DONALD GREER

THE ROAD TO VICHY, 1918-1938. By *Yves R. Simon*. Translated by *James A. Corbett* and *George J. McMorrow*. (New York, Sheed and Ward, 1942, pp. 207, \$2.25.) Among the innumerable books published about the French collapse we are pleased to note a new volume which has just appeared under the title *The Road to Vichy*. The author, M. Yves Simon, describes in an attractive manner the evolution of public opinion during the twenty years which elapsed between the two wars. Nobody will be surprised—on the contrary—at his severe condemnation of the Vichy regime. But everyone will be interested to see how the strength of a victorious nation deteriorated in the years which preceded the present conflict and how France was led to both a military collapse and the moral capitulation of its government. Was the France of this period between the two wars the victim of laziness, of an easy life, of dissoluteness? No. She worked diligently, and never was religious sentiment so strong. The truth is that, worn out by the excessive effort of the war of 1914, of which she bore heroically the greater part of the burden, she found herself unable to reunite in the face of a new conflict. This lack of unity, this growing internal division, was due to economic difficulties, to the venality of the press, to the defection of a great part of the bourgeoisie, to the loss of her philosophy. "The spirit of the French Revolution survived the defeat of Napoleon by more than a century. It blew upon the entire world during the first World War. It conquered and then died out on November 11th without anyone being aware of what was happening." In one of the best chapters of the book M. Yves Simon shows how the division of public opinion in France has been accelerated and accentuated by the thousand and one methods of German propaganda. This chapter is instructive for all countries which are today at war and above all for the United States.

LOUIS MARLIO

#### ARTICLES

ALFRED COBBAN. Local Government during the French Revolution. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, Jan.

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DONALD VERNON MCKAY. Colonialism in the French Geographical Movement, 1871-1881. *Geograph. Rev.*, Apr.  
Economic Problems of French North Africa. *Ibid.*

## NORTHERN EUROPE

*O. J. Falnes*

SVENSKA BREV. FRÅN BIRGITTA TILL AUGUST STRINDBERG. By *Knut Hagberg*. (Stockholm? 1942, kr. 9.00.)

DANMARKS LOVE. 1665-1942. Edited by *O. A. Borum* and *Vinding Kruse*. (Copenhagen, 1942, pp. 2554.)

DANSK HISTORIE. By *N. Krarup* and *P. Stavnstrup*. Forms Volume I of DANSK KULTUR GENNEM HALVANDET HUNDREDE AAR. Edited by *Kai Flor*. (Copenhagen? 1942, per volume kr. 13.75.)

SÖNDERJYLLANDS HISTORIE. By *Aage Friis*. (Copenhagen, 1942.)

INDUSTRIALISMENS SAMHÄLLE. By *Torsten Gårdlund*. (Stockholm? 1942, kr. 8.50.) Social aspects of the industrial revolution in Sweden.

CARL JOHAN: TRONFÖLGER OG KONGE. By *Yngvar Hauge*. (Stockholm? 1942, kr. 14.75.)

CARL XIV JOHAN—CARL XV OCH DERAS TID 1810-1872. By *Erik Lindorm*. (Stockholm, 1942, kr. 37.50.)

EN POLITISK-VILDE: P. P. WALDENSTRÖM I SVERIGES RIKSDAG 1885-1905. By *Ragnar Tomson*. (Stockholm, 1942, kr. 5.00.)

I STORMIG TID. By *Fredrik Ström*. (Stockholm? 1942.) Sweden during the first World War.

ERINDRINGER OG REFLEKSJONER. By *J. Throne Holst*. (Oslo, Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, 1942.) The memoirs of a Norwegian industrialist.

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ALBIN WIDÉN. Monument of a Cultural Heritage: The American-Swedish Historical Museum. *Am. Scand. Rev.*, Mar.

CHRISTMAS MÖLLER. What Is Happening in Denmark? *Ibid.*

JAMES COLLINS. Kierkegaard's Critique of Hegel. *Thought*, Mar.

## GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, AND HUNGARY

*Ernst Posner*

WINGED MARS. By *John R. Cuneo*. Volume I, THE GERMAN AIR WEAPON, 1870-1914. (Harrisburg, Military Service Publishing Company, 1942, pp. 338, \$2.50.) Intended as the first in a series of volumes designed to outline the rise of air power in recent history, *The German Air Weapon, 1870-1914*, is a satisfactory and workmanlike study in every way. Despite its title, it has chapters on the rise of the air arm in Great Britain and in France prior to 1914 which are in themselves excellent essays. Nevertheless, the bulk of the book is devoted to the origins of German air power,

both in dirigibles and in airplanes and in the army as well as in the navy. The German army adopted military ballooning in 1884, bought its first dirigible in 1908, and began experimenting with heavier-than-air craft in 1910. In the latter year, also, the military authorities started seriously to study the problem of designing anti-aircraft artillery. The German navy under Admiral Tirpitz followed in the wake of the army authorities and initiated its successive aeronautic experiments shortly after the parallel army programs had been instituted. On the western front in the summer of 1914 the German army faced the Anglo-French coalition with 180 military airplanes to the latter's 184 planes. In the beginning each side had five military dirigibles available for the war in the west. None of the belligerents remotely sensed the importance of air power as a means of attack, and all deemed reconnaissance and observation to be its true function. The author has supplemented his book with excellent statistical appendixes, giving data for air power in Germany, Great Britain, and France in 1914; with a remarkably complete bibliography and copious notes; with more than forty interesting pen-and-ink drawings; and with a detailed index. The reviewer would raise a few minor questions about details here and there—*e.g.*, the date of the Battle of Fleurus; the variants in the spelling of the name of the German aeronaut, von Tschudi; the spelling of *weltkrieg*; and occasional uncertainties in grammar. None of these points, however, should be allowed to detract from the solid merit of the book. It is the best volume of its kind which has yet appeared in the English language, and the thoroughness and objectivity with which the author has discharged his task are a credit to himself and to American scholarship. J. DUANE SQUIRES

THE INTERNATIONAL EXPERIMENT OF UPPER SILESIA: A STUDY IN THE WORKING OF THE UPPER SILESIAN SETTLEMENT, 1922-39. By *Georges Kaeckenbeek*. [Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1943, pp. 908, \$12.00.)

THE GUILT OF THE GERMAN ARMY. By *Hans Ernest Fried*. (New York, Macmillan, 1942, pp. xi, 426, \$3.50.) This volume represents the most complete and uncompromising indictment of the German army for its role in facilitating the rise of the Nazi regime. Its author never deviates from the thesis that the army not only made the Third Reich possible but that it from the start inspired and directed the movement that gave birth to it. In maintaining this view he necessarily covers a great deal of familiar ground and his interpretation of specific events usually follows familiar patterns. No other observer, however, has made such a determined effort to squeeze all the pieces of the German puzzle into this single framework. Inevitably this raises the question whether there has not been a certain amount of distortion. To Mr. Fried, National Socialist militarism, and indeed National Socialism itself, is the result of a "stubbornly tenacious, long drawn-out conspiracy" (p. 3). The officer conspirators are credited with a truly awesome infallibility and foresight. Their prolonged reluctance to associate themselves with any mass movement is passed over lightly. The student of German military affairs in the period between World Wars will also find it difficult to accept the notion of their almost complete unity of purpose. In spite of his somewhat one-sided approach the author's interpretation of the development of German militarism both before and after the last war is based throughout on a historical viewpoint. The book is inevitably pointed to influence present and future policies regarding the German military establishment. Even today it has value as a reminder of the folly of former (?) hopes, both inside and outside Germany, that the army might curb Hitlerism or that it was a force with which "deals" could profitably be made. In considering our policy toward a defeated

Germany Mr. Fried eloquently lists the obvious dangers of a prolonged occupation. His substitute and remedy are the creation of a German "democratic" army. The fact that Germany has never had such a popular force is to him a proof that this is the solution, rather than an indication that it is a Utopian concept.

HAROLD C. DEUTSCH

BETWEEN HITLER AND MUSSOLINI. Memoirs of *Ernst Rudiger Prince Starhemberg*. (New York, Harper, 1942, pp. xi, 281, \$3.00.) This book, by the author's own admission, does not recount the whole story which its author meant to tell, and readers are asked to make "allowances" for several chapters omitted by reason of hasty publication. Additions would not and will not be likely, however, to change the impression one gets of Prince Starhemberg. *Between Hitler and Mussolini* presents a horrifying example of democracy's strange bedfellows in this war. For, though the prince has been fighting with General DeGaulle's air force and, according to the publisher's note, wrote his book "to contribute to democracy's fight against the totalitarian powers in the political field" (p. vi), this is the autobiography of as fascist a fascist as anyone is likely to encounter, a frustrated fascist seeking to make himself palatable to democrats. It is not a pretty story, and one fears not a very truthful one; but it seems to give one good reason why Austria fell: the onetime aristocrat, leader of the Heimwehr, minister of the interior, vice-chancellor, and play-boy was not so good at the game as Hitler. Prince Starhemberg learned from Hitler in the early twenties; later he became the friend and supporter of Mussolini. He makes a great deal of his enmity to the National Socialists and, conversely, of his trust in Mussolini's support of Austria. But when he realized by 1936 that the Stresa Front would collapse, he suggested to Schuschnigg a plan for negotiating with Hitler to get a guarantee of Austrian independence. This plan is in significant contrast to the prince's reply to Gregor Strasser when, at the end of 1930, the latter offered in Hitler's name to negotiate with Starhemberg and the Heimwehr (p. 37ff.). During the interim Austria's own fascists had taken the fatal step of destroying social democracy, but Starhemberg disclaims any part in this move in a chapter which this reviewer finds entirely shameless. It will always be a cause for wonderment that fascists, who are fanatical nationalists, should be so willing to shoot down their blood brothers at home while negotiating with their own ilk abroad—and get away with it.

PAULINE R. ANDERSON

OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS OF PRESENT-DAY GERMANY: GOVERNMENT, CORPORATE ORGANIZATIONS, AND NATIONAL SOCIALIST PARTY, WITH AN OUTLINE OF THE GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE OF GERMANY. By *Otto Neuburger*, Division of Documents, Library of Congress. [Library of Congress.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1942, pp. vi, 130, 20 cents.)

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## ITALY

*Gaudens Megaro*

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## RUSSIA AND POLAND

Avrahm Yarmolinsky

MODERN RUSSIAN HISTORY: FROM THE AGE OF CATHERINE THE GREAT TO THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *Alexander Kornilov*, Onetime Professor at the Polytechnikum of Peter the Great in Petrograd. Translated from the Russian by *Alexander S. Kaun*. With a Bibliography by *John S. Curtiss*. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1943, pp. 310, 284, x, \$4.00.) This is the second reprint of a translation that was published in two volumes and reviewed by the late Archibald Cary Coolidge in Volume XXIII, 148. The bibliography by Mr. Curtiss in this reissue is substituted for the supplementary chapters and bibliographies in the first reprint (1924). The work has been out of print for some time. As the reissues are apparently unchanged from the issue of 1917, Professor Coolidge's review is still valid at all points.

RUSSKAYA ISTORIOGRAFIYA [Russian historiography]. By *N. L. Rubinstein*. (Moscow, Ogiz, pp. 660, r.7.85.) This work, intended for colleges and normal schools, is a detailed survey of Russian historical writing from the point of view of the philosophy of "Marxism-Leninism." The author traces both the accumulation of historical knowledge and the development of historical thought against the background of changing conditions. He distinguishes the following periods: feudal historiography (eleventh-eighteenth centuries), bourgeois historical science (nineteenth century), the crisis of bourgeois historiography and the rise of the Marxist-Leninist historical science (end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century), and the historical science of the Soviet era. The latter does not come within Professor Rubinstein's purview. Nevertheless, he devotes the last three chapters respectively to Pokrovsky, Lenin, and Stalin, and his conclusion is that "the works of Lenin and Stalin offer a theoretically well-founded and truly scientific formulation of the laws of the development of the USSR."

A HISTORY OF POLAND. By *O. Halecki*. Translated by *Monica M. Gardner* and *Mary Corbridge-Patkaniowska*. (New York, Roy, 1943, pp. xiii, 336, \$3.50.) This is the American edition, much improved in typography and format, of the work reviewed in the January issue, pp. 317-19.

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- JOHN N. HAZARD. Soviet Wartime Legislation. *Russian Rev.*, Autumn.
- OSKAR HALECKI. Problems of Polish Historiography. *Slavonic Rev.*, Mar.
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## Far Eastern History

E. H. Pritchard

THE UNITED STATES AND THE FAR EAST: CERTAIN FUNDAMENTALS OF POLICY. By Stanley K. Hornbeck. (Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1942, pp. vi, 100, cloth \$1.00, paper 50 cents.) This little book is not a critical appraisal of American Far Eastern policy but, rather, a brief résumé and interpretation by the adviser on political relations of the State Department. It is an elaboration of a paper read before the December, 1941, meeting of the American Historical Association. The introductory chapters discussing the source and aims of American foreign policy are followed by a summary of American Far Eastern policy prior to 1932 and a somewhat longer statement of diplomatic events from 1932 until December 15, 1941. In the main, the narrative consists of quotations from public statements of President Roosevelt and of various Secretaries of State (especially Mr. Hull), joined together by brief statements of events which inspired a particular statement. A useful appendix of five documents giving the text of the American notes to Japan on October 6 and December 31, 1938, regarding the violation of American rights in China, the Japanese proposal of November 20, 1941, the American counterproposal of November 26, and the President's message to Congress on December 15 completes the volume. In the introductory chapters the interesting view is presented that American Far Eastern policy is no different from American policy elsewhere and that everywhere it is a policy which "resides in and flows from principles and precedents." One might mildly disagree with the implications if not the letter of the first half of the statement. The last half of the statement at once sets forth the great strength and weakness of American policy. Strength comes from the continuity which flows from a constant harkening back to precedents. But the "negative rather than positive lines" of our foreign policy also flow from this dependence on precedents. Throughout the book the difficulties are evident which arise when a state wedded to a policy based on precedents



attempts to deal with a government like that of Japan, which has no intention of accepting a decision based upon the logic of precedents.

**LITTLE CHINA: THE ANNAMENSE LANDS.** By *Alan Houghton Brodrick*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1942, pp. xii, 332.) The volume is only slightly and spasmodically historical. In whatever it touches, and it touches all phases of Annamese life and civilization, it is decidedly spasmodic. There is no logic or traceable organization in a mass of observations that are a mine of information where the reader works without much aid from the author. It is valuable because it is almost the only book in English on the area and people.

**CHINA'S FIRST HUNDRED.** By *Thomas E. La Fargue*. (Pullman, State College of Washington, 1942, pp. xiv, 176, \$2.00.) This is the story of an interesting experiment in cultural relations, to use the present term. Between 1872 and 1885, 120 Chinese boys between the ages of ten and fourteen were sent or came to the United States for a complete occidental education. They did not all complete the assignment, but the record they made when they returned to a China none too ready to welcome them is an impressive story. Their record is summarized on page 65 and tabulated in detail on pages 173-76. The author has been tireless in searching out the story of individual careers of these boys. The last chapter is an unstudied but moving account of how he gathered a few of them, now old men, for a dinner together in Shanghai in 1940. They had served China well but their ten years or more in America had made them to the end of their lives strangers in their own land. The study is well done and worth doing.

**WITH PERRY IN JAPAN: THE DIARY OF EDWARD YORKE McCaULEY.** Edited by *Allan B. Cole*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1942, pp. 124, \$2.50.) Commodore Perry's opening of Japan takes on fresh significance by reason of recent events. Most accounts of it are written almost exclusively from American sources. One would like to know what the Japanese thought of it. The journal now published for the first time is from a manuscript found in the New-York Historical Society. Apparently it was not used by the editor of the official narrative. It was kept by a young officer on board the U. S. S. *Powhatan* from February 13, 1853, to June 10, 1854. One third of it relates to the voyage from Philadelphia to Hong Kong, and rather less than half to events in Japan, for which part fortunately the entries are rather full. From February 19, 1854, the *Powhatan* served as Perry's flagship. At the time of the signing of the treaty McCauley was ill. His journal contains considerable information about the customs of the people and has some interesting observations on the hairy Ainus. In his introduction the editor gives a sketch of the life of the journalist and the "background" of the expedition, the latter in place of extensive annotation. He describes the journal as "the story of a brash, young officer who reflected the feeling of racial and cultural superiority so characteristic of his exuberant republic." There is no index, and several illustrations are not identified as to subject.

C. O. PAULLIN

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## United States History

E. C. Burnett

### GENERAL

DE PIERRE MINUIT AUX ROOSEVELT: L'ÉPOPÉE BELGE AUX ÉTATS-UNIS.  
By Robert Goffin. (New York, Brentano's, 1943, pp. 284, \$1.75.)

"SOME REFLECTIONS UPON THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION" AND OTHER  
ESSAYS IN AMERICAN COLONIAL HISTORY. By Laurence Henry Gipson,

Lehigh University. (Bethlehem, Department of History and Government, Lehigh University, 1942.) All these essays, six in number, are reprints. The titular essay and "The Transit of European Civilization to the Middle Colonies of North America" are reprinted from *Pennsylvania History*. From the *American Oxonian* are taken "The American Revolution Re-examined" and "Town and City Government in the Colonies." From the *Canadian Historical Review* is drawn Professor Gipson's "Critique of the Papers upon the American Revolution," presented by Professors Harper, Root, and Dickerson before the American Historical Association in December, 1941. "Two Centuries Ago in Pennsylvania" is reprinted from the *Proceedings* of the Wyoming (Pennsylvania) Commemorative Association. Together these essays offer stimulating contributions to colonial and Revolutionary history.

THE UNITED STATES EXPLORING EXPEDITION, 1838-1842, AND ITS PUBLICATIONS, 1844-1874. A Bibliography by *Daniel C. Haskell*, Bibliographer of the Library. With an Introductory Note by *Harry Miller Lydenberg*. (New York, New York Public Library, 1942, pp. xii, 188.)

THE CANADIAN BORN IN THE UNITED STATES: AN ANALYSIS OF THE STATISTICS OF THE CANADIAN ELEMENT IN THE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, 1850 TO 1930. By *Leon E. Truesdell*, Chief Statistician for Population, United States Bureau of the Census. [The Relations of Canada and the United States: a series of studies prepared under the direction of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History, James T. Shotwell, Director.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1943, pp. xvi, 263, \$3.00.)

THE AMERICAN ORIGIN OF THE AUGUSTANA SYNOD, FROM CONTEMPORARY LUTHERAN PERIODICALS, 1851-1860. Edited by *O. Fritiof Ander* and *Oscar L. Nydstrom*. [Augustana Historical Society Publications, Vol. IX.] (Rock Island, Augustana Historical Society, 1942, pp. 192, \$1.50.)

SWEDISH IMMIGRANTS IN LINCOLN'S TIME. By *Nels Hokanson*. With a Foreword by Carl Sandburg. (New York, Harper, 1942, pp. xviii, 259, \$3.00.) Nels Hokanson, the author of *Swedish Immigrants in Lincoln's Time*, came to America from Sweden as a child. He is a businessman who could devote only his spare time to this work, and, not being a trained historian, he was undoubtedly forced to make use of the trial and error method. After some twenty years of "delightful" work *Swedish Immigrants in Lincoln's Time* emerged. The many years of search for material must have been motivated by an admirable curiosity in the achievements of the author's own national group in one of the most critical periods in American history. Perhaps only gradually did Mr. Hokanson conceive the idea of writing a book in order to share his findings with others. Throughout the entire volume the author seeks to preserve a modesty which is highly to be praised, and undoubtedly there will be many of Swedish origin who will read *Swedish Immigrants in Lincoln's Time* without questioning the data presented. Also, a simple and direct style makes the pages seem short. Undoubtedly Mr. Hokanson's volume might do much toward creating a circle of readers among the Swedish immigrants which has been absent for more critical and scholarly historical works. The historian, however, will find very little that is new and even less that is of value in Mr. Hokanson's presentation, except perhaps in the chapters which deal directly with the Civil War. The author would have done well in confining himself to the role played by the Swedes in the Civil War. But so frequently do errors appear in other chapters that the reliability of all of them for scholarly purposes must be seriously questioned. As a catalogue of names

the entire volume might have a value, and it is little more than a catalogue of more or less prominent Swedes in America from the founding of the Delaware colony to the end of the Civil War. But its bibliography is inadequate for further and more reliable information while its footnotes are most unsatisfactory. There is no way by which the reader is able to determine when the author has based his statements on hearsay or on authentic records. The appendixes, which are numerous, serve no valuable purpose. The illustrations, however, are excellent. To the ordinary layman the above objections will matter very little, and if the volume stimulates an interest of an immigrant group in its own history, Mr. Hokanson will have succeeded where others have failed.

O. FRITIOF ANDER

THE GROWTH OF THE UNITED STATES. By *Ralph Volney Harlow*, Professor of American History, Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University. Volume I, THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NATION THROUGH THE CIVIL WAR; Volume II, THE EXPANSION OF THE NATION, 1865-1943. Revised edition. (New York, Henry Holt, 1943, pp. x, 621; viii, 663, \$3.25 each.)

THE VATICAN COUNCIL AND THE AMERICAN SECULAR NEWSPAPERS, 1869-70. By *J. Ryan Beiser*. [The Catholic University of America.] (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1941, pp. ix, 327, \$2.50.) The departure of Pius IX from the paths of liberalism furnished opportunities for an ancient American anti-Catholicism to assert itself anew. The first general council since Trent—with talk of infallibility other than Republican—afforded the United States some diversion from the sordid era of Grant. The press, which was Protestant, depended on sources largely unreliable and very scanty. Gossip, with a Maria Monk flavor, filled the void, and in the total handling of the conciliar “news” Dr. Beiser sees a demonstration of the growing sensationalism of secular journalism. The press is discussed by sections, with New York papers tending to set the pattern for other regions. The author finds that much of the press shared the unsympathetic attitude of the *Nation*, which was “steeped in Liberalism.” Unable to discover what the bishops were about, editorials issued blasts at Fenians, paid tributes to “noble” William of Prussia, and fought over again the issue of the Bible in the schools. Dr. Beiser stresses the “correlation between the politics of the paper and its attitude toward the Council.” The Republicans, with Know-Nothing elements and “abolitionary ministers and Protestants,” were more antagonistic. The author thinks it possible “the Republican leaders wished the public’s eyes turned from . . . the Grant Administration.” Dr. Beiser gives us a clear and useful analysis and makes a genuine contribution to our, as yet, uncharted knowledge of the social and political significance of anti-Catholicism beyond the point of Billington’s excellent survey. The book fully displays the bigotry of the press. Protestant editors had yet to learn practical wisdom, but a better appreciation of the inadequacy of the press is reached when it is recalled that the United States had just finished a war for government “by the people”—a political philosophy not found in the *Syllabus of Errors*.

EDMUND A. MOORE

WHO WAS WHO IN AMERICA, 1897-1942. Volume I. (Chicago, A. N. Marquis, 1942, pp. 1406, \$10.00.) Biographies of the non-living with dates of deaths appended. A companion volume to *Who's Who in America*. It contains the 25,000 biographies removed, because of deaths of biographees, from the twenty-one volumes of *Who's Who in America* published since 1897.

PRELIMINARY INVENTORY OF THE COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE RECORDS, 1916-1921. (Washington, the National Archives, 1942, pp. xvii, 75.)

DOCUMENTS ON AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS. Volume IV, JULY, 1941-JUNE, 1942. Edited by *Leland M. Goodrich*, Acting Director, World Peace Foundation, with the collaboration of *S. Shepard Jones* and *Denys P. Myers*. (Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1942, pp. xlviii, 899, \$3.75.) The editors of previous volumes in this notable series, Messrs. Jones and Myers, are now in the service of the government, so that the present volume may be credited to Mr. Goodrich, with their collaboration. The high standards to which the public had grown accustomed are steadily maintained. The editor, the publicist, and the historian of current events can rely as previously upon a wealth of diplomatic material placed in their hands with surprising promptness. This wealth, as in previous editions, is supplemented by foreign documents, as well as by domestic contributions of only a quasi-official character. The period covered in Volume IV is of transcendent interest. The last vestiges of a peacetime diplomacy were breaking down. The bitter fruits of a bankrupt isolationism were tendered the inheritors of the mistakes of 1920 and of the men who refused American support to a tottering world order. Amid the diversity of interests here represented, lend-lease merits especial attention as perhaps the keynote of subsequent policy, a thesis ably sustained by a contemporary publicist (*Atlantic Monthly*, April, 1943). Of interest, likewise, are communications with the various governments in exile. The lengthy section on the Western Hemisphere pays tribute to the importance of hemispheric solidarity in current diplomacy. In Asia the breach with Japan is fully explored, and the even more momentous possibilities of our relations with China and India are adumbrated. Political agents of foreign governments receive clear treatment and definition, and the status and treatment of enemy aliens are defined. Indeed, the bypaths of foreign relations are as carefully traversed as is the broad highway. It is reassuring to know that these *Documents* are continued under war conditions, and the public which awaits their annual appearance will be grateful that here at least there is no wartime deprivation.

LOUIS MARTIN SEARS

JEWISH POPULATION STUDIES. Edited by *Sophia M. Robison*, with the Assistance of *Joshua Starr*. [Jewish Social Studies, Publications, No. 3.] (New York, Conference on Jewish Relations, 1943, pp. xvi, 189, \$3.50.) The studies cover the Jewish populations in Buffalo, Chicago, Detroit, Minneapolis, New London, Norwich, Passaic, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, and Trenton.

HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE. By *Robert L. Jack*. (Boston, Meador, 1943, pp. 124, \$1.00.)

HISTORY OF LIVESTOCK RAISING IN THE UNITED STATES, 1607-1860. By *James Westfall Thompson*. [Agricultural History Series, No. 5.] (Washington, United States Department of Agriculture, 1942, pp. viii, 183.) This study was completed and submitted to the Department of Agriculture by Professor Thompson shortly before his death in September, 1941. The manuscript as submitted included eight chapters dealing with the subject for the years 1860-1916, which are not included in this publication. The manuscript has been edited for publication by Dr. O. C. Stine, of the department committee on agricultural history, and assistants. The scope of the work is indicated in a general way by the several headings of the nine chapters here published: "The European Background of American Livestock," "Stock Raising in Colonial New England," "Stock Raising in the Middle Colonies," "Stock Raising in the Southern Colonies," "Stock Raising in the United States, 1775-1830," "The Opening of the New West," "Spanish Southwest and California," "Beginnings of Stock Raising in Oregon Territory and Utah," and "Stock Raising in the United States during the Middle Era, 1830-1860." Appended is a calendar of the literature cited by



Professor Thompson (32 pages), together with selected references on the history of livestock raising in the United States to 1860, published since the Thompson manuscript was completed.

AMERICA: THE STORY OF A FREE PEOPLE. By *Allan Nevins* and *Henry Steele Commager*. (Boston, Little, Brown, 1942, pp. xi, 507, \$3.00.) The publication of *America: The Story of a Free People* was timely, for it appeared when educators and the press were insisting that in this age of crisis all Americans should have a better knowledge and understanding of the history of this country. Messrs. Nevins and Commager have surveyed the entire American scene from the founding of Jamestown down to Pearl Harbor. They admit freely that the volume is intended for the general reader and not for the scholar and that it "does not pretend to embody original research or attempt to advance new interpretations." However, this readable book will be useful to the person who desires a new, short, one-volume digest of the history of the United States. The authors have not only succeeded in portraying the great movements of the past, but they were adept in writing short sketches of major figures in American life. Their judgment of certain contemporaries may be revised by future historians, but in the main these pen portraits are well done. The increase in the complexity of life after the Civil War is presented with particular effectiveness, and the writers have also convincingly described the enormous influence that the West had on the nation's development. Possibly some of the best writing in the book deals with the frontier pioneers who are described as "hard hitting, resourceful men, indifferent to book learning, impatient of restraint, and invincibly optimistic." And throughout their "story" the authors never lose sight of their major purpose, which is the tracing of the evolution of a free society in the United States. The volume could have been improved with maps that were slightly more pretentious. Although no exhaustive bibliography is necessary in a work of this type, suggestions for further reading might have been welcomed by some of the laymen to whom the book is addressed.

RICHARD L. BEYER

THE REPUBLIC OF THE UNITED STATES: A HISTORY. By *Jeannette P. Nichols*, Sometime Professor of History, Wesleyan College, and *Roy F. Nichols*, Professor of History, University of Pennsylvania. [The Century Historical Series, William E. Lingelbach, Editor.] Volume II, 1865-1942. (New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1942, pp. xvii, 715, \$3.50.) This is a history of modern America from a grass-roots point of view. The authors, instead of observing the rise of an urban-industrial republic since 1865 from the customary observation tower in Washington, have taken up their position among the farms and mines, in the grimy and turbulent factory areas, and within the homes, libraries, art galleries, and universities of the nation. As a college textbook it presupposes a fair knowledge of the basic political developments of our history. It may, therefore, offer some difficulties for the average secondary school product as recently disrobed by the *New York Times* surveys. But it will present a stimulating challenge to the student who wants to gain a mature comprehension of what has happened to America in the past seven decades. There is no hesitation on the part of the authors in going fully into controversial episodes and issues, nor in distributing credit or discredit where they seem to be due. The tone, however, is always restrained, intelligent, and judicial; and few historians, at any rate, will find serious fault with the conclusions. There is plentiful evidence of a discriminating use of the latest monographic research as well as of the authors' own familiarity with much of the source material. The volume is brightened by a clear, vigorous, and well-flavored literary style and given added weight by interpretative unity and by philosoph-



ical insight. It will provide enjoyable reading for student and likewise for others who wish to have a meaningful picture of the United States since the Civil War. It is attractively bound, well printed, and contains a profusion of well-chosen and expertly reproduced photographs and cartoons. The bibliographical references are adequate, the appendixes conventional, and the maps utilitarian rather than decorative. In conjunction with the earlier published volume by the same authors, which covers the period through the Civil War, college teachers have available a text which goes deeply and with unusual detail into the economic, social, and aesthetic aspects of American history at the survey level. It will undoubtedly win a high and deserved place among the leading texts in the field.

WOOD GRAY

WAR INFORMATION AND CENSORSHIP. By *Elmer Davis* and *Byron Price*. (Washington, American Council on Public Affairs, 1943, pp. 79, \$1.00.) A compilation of the public utterances and expositions of policy made by Messrs. Davis and Price, covering the two government agencies they direct.

THE OTHER SIDE OF MAIN STREET: A HISTORY TEACHER FROM SAUK CENTRE. By *Henry Johnson*, Professor Emeritus of History, Teachers College, Columbia University. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1943, pp. viii, 263, \$2.75.) When his alma mater, the University of Minnesota, conferred an honorary degree upon the author of this autobiography (a fact he modestly omits), the citation read, "Master of the art of teaching, a scholar whose contributions to your chosen field of history merit the admiration and praise of all who know them, a man whose life has been devoted to the elevation of the standards of historical scholarship and instruction, a classroom leader whose power to make learning exciting is measured by the fact that you can evoke the liveliest of student interest and discussion in the first grade or the graduate seminar, pre-eminent as a teacher of teachers." To this volume one may adapt and apply Mr. Johnson's own words in speaking of a biography of his friend President Livingston Lord. "In this volume those who know him can meet him again as he is and those who do not know him can make his acquaintance. It is scarcely necessary to add that, in this reader's opinion, any reader will find him worth knowing." The chapter on "Random Incidents" shows the master in the classroom. The last chapter shows the author militant for historical scholarship against the "functionalists" and their provincialism. At all points the man from the other side of Main Street sets high goals for his colleagues on both sides of 120th Street—a street that speaking educationally is the longest and some think the broadest in the United States. It was Henry Johnson's life work, begun before he lived on the street, to build a bridge across it, to do for others what he did for himself in fusing good teaching and sound scholarship.

G. S. F.

TEACHING CRITICAL THINKING IN THE SOCIAL STUDIES. *Howard R. Anderson*, Editor. Thirteenth yearbook of the National Council for Social Studies. (Washington, National Council for the Social Studies, 1942, pp. ix, 175, \$2.30, paper \$2.00.)

UNION LIST OF MICROFILMS. Supplement 1 (1942). (Philadelphia, Philadelphia Bibliographical Center and Union Library Catalogue, Committee on Microphotography, 1943, pp. xii, 244, \$3.00.)

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## NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

PORTS OF PISCATAQUA: SOUNDINGS IN THE MARITIME HISTORY OF THE PORTSMOUTH, N. H., CUSTOMS DISTRICT FROM THE DAYS OF QUEEN ELIZABETH AND THE PLANTING OF STRAWBERRY BANKE TO THE TIMES OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND THE WANING OF THE AMERICAN CLIPPER. By *William G. Saltonstall*, Phillips Exeter Academy. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1941, pp. xii, 244, \$3.50.) Among the ports north of Boston, Portsmouth and its satellites of the Piscataqua never developed the glamorous, far-flung trades of Salem nor a profitable specialty like Gloucester. Although like the ports of Maine it exported fish and lumber and built ships, its commercial prosperity ended earlier, after the War of 1812. In the nineteenth century it was not sufficiently remote from Boston to share in the great days of coastal steam navigation, nor did it have the commodities—ice, lime, paving stone, and hay—to develop a substantial coastal trade. On the whole its maritime history resembles most closely that of Newburyport and the Merrimac, the “strategic” southern boundary of New Hampshire just as the Piscataqua is its real northeastern one. This is not to deny Portsmouth’s distinctions. In the colonial era it was the chief center of the mast trade; during the Revolution her builders turned out three of the “continentals” commissioned for the new American navy; and finally the Piscataqua evolved for freight traffic between its ports one of the most remarkable vessels of the Atlantic coast line, the gundelow. Although by the forties the Eastern Railroad had reached Portsmouth, and the Boston and Maine the upriver ports, this adaptable freight carrier kept alive a water competition until the eighties. Mr. Saltonstall is no old-timer. Yet with great deftness he has managed to give his narrative the air of an affectionate and mellowed reminiscence and to distill from material, much of it episodic, the flavor and color of these New Hampshire ports. His publisher, the Harvard University Press, has not stood in his way; the book has an extremely attractive format.

EDWARD C. KIRKLAND

HARVARD CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY PAST AND PRESENT, 1882-1942. By *N. S. B. Gras*, Professor of Business History, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1942, pp. xi, 191, \$1.50.) This book gives an interesting account of the Harvard Co-operative Society—the oldest college co-operative in this country. It was in 1882 that a group of undergraduates under the leadership of Kip, a Harvard junior, got together to see what could be done to secure relief from what they believed to be the outrageously high prices that were charged by the local tradesmen. None of the students seemed to know much about the co-operative movement, but they formed their society with a constitution which provided that the merchandise was to be sold for cash only, at a price not over 5 per cent above cost, and that the profits were to be added to capital. Soon the change was made of paying two thirds of the profits to members as dividends on their purchases. The need of a better system of cost accounting, in order to have a check on the superintendent, led to the offering of a course in accounting at Harvard. The society was started by undergraduates, but as their active interest soon ceased, the guidance of the society came to rest with the president, who was almost always a member of the faculty. In 1903, when the society was incor-

porated, this condition was recognized and a voting trust set up by which the students lost practical control. The situation seems to resemble that of our large business corporations where the owners seldom control. Yet the society has fulfilled the purpose for which it was founded—to reduce the prices of goods at Harvard Square—and it owns, debt free, a fine department store and has paid its members over two million dollars in dividends. Professor Gras admits that co-operation has been killed in administration but takes comfort that it has been kept alive in the title, in the sharing of profits, and in by-laws which permit a possible revival of co-operative administration.

WILLIAM W. CUTLER

NATHANIEL WILLIAM TAYLOR, 1786-1858: A CONNECTICUT LIBERAL. By *Sidney Earl Mead*. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1942, pp. xi, 259, \$2.50.) To those interested in the religious thought and activities in Connecticut during the first part of the nineteenth century, this book offers an unusually clear analysis, enlivened by skillfully selected biographical facts about Nathaniel Taylor and some of his contemporaries as well. A former protégé of Timothy Dwight, Taylor became, in 1822, professor of didactic theology in the newly established theological department of Yale College. He already had a reputation as an effective preacher and as an able, if somewhat unpleasant, controversialist. After joining the Yale faculty he continued, as formerly, to have a hand in most of the religious activities of the state. He and his associates, of whom the militant Lyman Beecher was chief, are represented, contrary to the traditional view, not as belonging to the speculative school of Jonathan Edwards' followers but as the successors of the more practical-minded Old Calvinists. They stimulated revivals to save souls but almost equally to further political, social, and ecclesiastical ends—to purge the land of atheism and its devastating effects, to stem the rising tide of Republicanism and save the standing order, to combat Episcopatism, and to check Unitarianism with its alleged threat to moral and social well-being. During their campaigns they changed their theological views, not because of reasoned conviction but because the exigencies of situations that arose required such change. In the end, while still proclaiming themselves Calvinists, they had repudiated essential Calvinistic doctrines. This fact finally brought them into sharp conflict with the consistent Calvinists, in which they successfully maintained the right of liberals to remain in the Congregational fold. They thus secured for later progressive leaders who obeyed Taylor's frequent injunction to his students to think for themselves a freedom which they might not have enjoyed otherwise.

HARRIS E. STARR

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- CALENDAR OF MARYLAND STATE PAPERS, No. 1: THE BLACK BOOKS. (Annapolis, Hall of Records Commission, 1943, pp. viii, 297, \$1.00.) Four series of early Maryland records have long been distinguished by the color of their bindings—red, blue, brown, and black. The "Black Books," some twenty volumes, are chiefly records of the proprietary and royal periods, although there is also a considerable quantum of materials of the Revolutionary period. This calendar characterizes the individual documents, often extensively, especially in the "naming of names." The index occupies sixty-seven pages.
- DIARY OF A JOURNEY THROUGH THE CAROLINAS, GEORGIA, AND FLORIDA, FROM JULY 1, 1765, TO APRIL 10, 1766. By John Bartram. Annotated by Francis Harper, Research Associate, the John Bartram Association, Philadelphia. [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society Held at Philadelphia for Pro-

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## WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

THE HISTORY OF THE STATE OF OHIO. Edited by Carl Wittke, Professor of History, Oberlin College. [Published under the Auspices of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.] In six volumes. Volume VI, OHIO IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, 1900-1938. Planned and compiled by Harlow Lindley, Secretary, Editor, and Librarian, Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. (Columbus, Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1942, pp. xiii, 563.) A group of pioneers in coonskin caps and hunting shirts plodded across the Allegheny Moun-



tains beside rumbling covered wagons bound for the Ohio country. The time was January, 1938—yes, 1938—and the men were part of a pageant to commemorate the sesquicentennial of the Northwest Territory's organization. Harlow Lindley is credited with initiating the festal plan. To celebrate the event even more fittingly the legislature passed an appropriation for a six-volume history of the state, and to Harlow Lindley goes all credit as editor and compiler of the concluding volume. In this last book fourteen specialists tell Ohio's story since 1900 in terms of politics, labor organizations, agriculture, business development, conservation, education, religious trends. A factual and stirring chapter describes the Buckeye Boys in World War I. The book is a repository of information indispensable to every reference librarian in the state—a combination topical handbook and register of people prominent in literary, musical, artistic, and educational fields. Seventy pages are devoted to an analytical index. The book is more than a local history. Ohio politics from McKinley to Harding and Robert A. Taft is not provincial; neither is labor's course from Marc Hanna and John Mitchell to A.F. of L. and C.I.O. Ohio business developments—the rubber cities of the 1920's—exceed the glamor of bonanza mining camps. Aviation's birth in the Wright brothers' bicycle repair shop at Dayton ranks in importance with the stories of Arkwright's water frame and Crompton's mule. Architectural evolution from Carnegie libraries and Christian Science churches to skyscrapers and finally to glass-cube "moderns" is a phenomenon of industrial America everywhere. Common to all the United States, also, is Ohio's problem of overproduction and unemployment, county, state, and Federal relief. A student who wants these topics boiled down to hard, salty facts will find them here.

JAY MONAGHAN

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE MISSIONARY BAPTIST CHURCH IN INDIANA. By *John F. Cady*, Dean and Professor of History, Franklin College. (Franklin, Franklin College, 1942, pp. 354, \$3.00.)

LORDS OF THE LEVEE: THE STORY OF BATHHOUSE JOHN AND HINKY-DINK. By *Lloyd Wendt* and *Herman Kogan*. (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1943, pp. 384, \$3.00.) "This story of Chicago's First Ward from the 1890's on portrays the two colorful characters who were its czars. The authors are newspapermen of that city."

THE LIFE OF RT. REV. JOSEPH ROSATI, C. M., FIRST BISHOP OF ST. LOUIS, 1789-1843. By *Frederick John Easterly*, Priest of the Congregation of the Mission. [The Catholic University of America, Studies in American Church History, under the Direction of Rt. Rev. Msgr. Peter Guilday, Vol. XXXIII.] (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1942, pp. xi, 203.)

A HISTORY OF EIGHTY YEARS, 1863-1942: GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS COLLEGE. By *Conrad Peterson*. (Rock Island, Augustana Book, 1942, pp. 128, \$1.25, paper 75 cents.)

MY HOME ON THE RANGE: FRONTIER LIFE IN THE BAD LANDS. By *Harry V. Johnston*. (Minneapolis, the author, 1920 Lyndale Avenue, S., 1942, pp. 313, \$2.50.)

CRAZY HORSE: THE STRANGE MAN OF THE OGALAS. By *Mari Sandoz*. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1942, pp. x, 428, \$3.50.) Probably no single factor has had a greater molding influence on the American people through the years than the Indians. And yet almost no history of the American Indian has been written from his viewpoint. One reason for this is the absence of Indian sources. In spite of this handicap Miss Sandoz has done a splendid job of telling the story of the great Sioux



chieftain and the last stand of his people against the surging white tide of settlement. Crazy Horse was born about 1840 and in childhood associated with the whites along the Oregon Trail. During the dozen critical years following the Civil War he was a leading spirit in the battles between Indians and whites. Fighting a losing struggle, he was cooped up on a reservation and eventually was killed while held virtually as a prisoner by the whites. The author, reared in the region where the Sioux lived, has a rich background for the work in hand. In addition to interviews with Indians and whites who knew Crazy Horse, she used every available written source of the whites which would throw light on the career of the great chief. The author knows Indians as do few writers and tells the story as an Indian would. Her idioms and figures present the story in his way. It is not simply the story of one Indian: it is the story of the heart-rending losing struggle of the red man with the whites and his final loss of his hunting ground and the cherished haunts which he loved so well. The story ends with the division of the Indians among themselves and their being herded together on reservations. Written for the general reader, this volume is not footnoted and has no index. It richly adds, however, to our knowledge of plains Indian life and lore, presents the Indian viewpoint, and introduces us to another great Indian character.

EVERETT DICK

INDEX TO THE "ANNALS OF WYOMING" AND MISCELLANEOUS HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS. (Cheyenne, Wyoming State Historical Department, 1943, \$3.00.)

A HISTORY OF SOUTHEASTERN IDAHO. By *M. D. Beal*, Professor of History in Ricks College. (Caldwell, Caxton Printers, 1942, pp. 443, \$3.00.) Owing to a serious lack of geographic logic in the determination of its political boundaries, Idaho consists of three dissimilar areas—north, south, and southeast. The history of the latter is an important, integral part of Idaho's colorful past, and the author's purpose in this book is "to present a more detailed and intimate narrative of this section than is given in the more general histories of the state." In carrying out this purpose the author has followed in general the usual organization of material for the history of a Western state—a bit of geological and natural history of the region, the culture of its Indians, early explorations, the trail blazing of the trapper brigades, Indian relations, the advance of the mining frontier, transportation, and the development of agriculture and industry. But the most prominent feature is the explanation of the Mormon program of organized colonization and the great role of the Mormon people in the development of southeastern Idaho. Beginning in 1849, relatively far-flung settlements were undertaken in every direction from Salt Lake City. Exploring parties were first sent out to be followed by missionary colonists who located in compact settlements and distributed land in small lots by drawing. Strong religious bonds made possible group solidarity and co-operation in all things. This type of colonization was materially responsible for the success of the first settlements in Idaho after 1860, although giving way later to the ranch plan in the upper Snake River Valley. At present there are approximately one hundred thousand persons of the Mormon faith in Idaho, and their contribution has been pronounced good. Professor Beal has written this book from a thorough study of a mass of material ranging from documentary history, journals, and diaries in the Mormon Church Library to the monographs of professional historians and the recollections of the pioneers. Forty-seven pages of bibliography and notes indicate the sources used. Over fifty illustrations add interest to the story. One or two good maps of Idaho and its neighboring regions would have been of great convenience to the reader.

EDWARD EARL BENNETT

PROVO: PIONEER MORMON CITY. Compiled by the Workers of the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration for the State of Utah. [American Guide Series.] (Portland, Binfords and Mort, 1942, pp. 223, \$2.00.) An exceptionally good combination of history and guidebook. The historical section, written from sources not hitherto used, makes its contribution to Mormon history and to the biography of such figures as Etienne Provost. The documentation and bibliography are up to the best standards.

JOHN BIDWELL: PRINCE OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. By *Rockwell D. Hunt*. (Caldwell, Caxton Printers, 1942, pp. 463, \$3.50.) Professor Hunt's *John Bidwell* is a well-written and well-organized biography of one of California's great pioneers. The book contains a preface, table of contents, an introduction by W. G. Paden, twenty well-balanced chapters, a brief biographical note, an appendix of selected documents, thirty-two excellent illustrations, and an index. Born of sturdy New England stock, Bidwell studied and taught in Pennsylvania and Ohio. Pushing west of the Mississippi, he acquired a land claim in the rich Platte Purchase, only to lose it to an energetic squatter. Ashamed to return East a failure, Bidwell struck out for the Pacific in 1841. For more than fifty years he labored as a builder of empire in California. He promoted the building of highways, the construction of railroads, and established a successful experimental farm. He served his state in the militia, the local legislature, and the national Congress. His character assumed such national significance that in 1892 he was selected as the presidential candidate for the National Prohibition party. Married late in life, Bidwell died in 1900. As Paden has said in his introduction, the title of this book might well have been *I Knew Bidwell*. No doubt due to this association, the author has the tendency to build Bidwell into a greater figure than he actually was, *i.e.*, "His vision was wide enough to encompass the entire Pacific Coast" (p. 197); "Bidwell was far in advance of his contemporaries in becoming a citizen of the world" (p. 206); and "Few men knew California as Bidwell knew it" (p. 201). There were a number of other California pioneers who measured up to Bidwell's stature, such as John Marsh, Abel Stearns, John Sutter, and Thomas O. Larkin. It is to be regretted that there are only occasional footnotes, no maps in the body of the work, and that the brief bibliographical note does not include more of the more significant manuscripts Professor Hunt must certainly have consulted in order to write such a volume. Regardless of these minor criticisms, *John Bidwell* stands as a substantial contribution to California history. ROBERT J. PARKER

THE SOUTHWEST HISTORICAL SERIES ANALYTICAL INDEX. [Southwest Historical Series, Volume XII.] (Glendale, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1943, pp. 364, \$6.00.)

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Latin-American History

James Ferguson King

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LATIN AMERICAN BIBLIOGRAPHIES. By C. K. Jones. Second edition; revised by the author with the assistance of James A. Granier. Advisory Editors: José Torre Revello, Rubens Borba de Moraes, and Sturgis E. Leavitt. [The Library of Congress, Hispanic Foundation.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1942, pp. 311, 40 cents.) The appearance of a second edition of this indispensable guide, containing no less than 3,016 entries, bears witness to the wealth of bibliographical literature in the Latin-American field. The fact that the first edition (composed of contributions in Volumes III and IV of the *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 1920-1921, published in book form by the *Hispanic* in 1922) listed only 1,281 items suggests a vast growth in the field since its appearance. Though such an impression is valid, it is important to note that the author has included also a large number of works published prior to 1922 which were not listed in the original edition. The great expansion of this second edition is not only a monument to the industry of the author and his assistant but also to the increasing co-operation in the

field among bibliographers of all the Americas. The present work is somewhat more inclusive than its title might indicate. Not only does it contain formal bibliographies and book lists but also collective biographies, histories of literature, selected "general and miscellaneous works useful for reference purposes," and monographs which contain important specialized bibliographies. It embraces foreign works on Latin America as well as those produced in the countries concerned, and of course it lists items by Latin Americans published abroad. The author has followed the general scheme of classification adopted in the first edition. A "General and Miscellaneous" section is followed by country divisions. While such a plan is doubtless the simplest that can be devised, it does not make possible the grouping together of subject bibliographies which cut across the country divisions—on art, foreign trade, or the Negro, to cite examples at random. But a thirty-page subject and author index facilitates the discovery of such subject bibliographies within the country sections. Short introductions to the various sections provide critical guides to the materials contained therein. The entries themselves are consecutively numbered. They contain essential bibliographical data, the numbers of Library of Congress cards when such exist, and frequent supplementary comment or description.

THE DISCOVERY OF YUCATAN BY FRANCISCO HERNÁNDEZ DE CÓRDOBA.

A Translation of the Original Texts, with an Introduction and Notes, by *Henry R. Wagner*. [Documents and Narratives Concerning the Discovery and Conquest of Latin America, published by the Cortes Society, New Series, Number One.] (Berkeley, Cortes Society, 1942, pp. vii, 85.) Assembled in this slender volume are translations of the nine narratives of the Hernández de Córdoba expedition of 1517, first to reach the Mexican mainland: the letter of the Regimiento and the accounts by Peter Martyr, Oviedo, Santa Cruz, López de Gómara, Las Casas, Cervantes de Salazar, and Díaz del Castillo. Mr. Wagner's introduction summarizes the experiences of the party and discusses the merits of the several accounts. He adds an itinerary, its later entries admittedly conjectural, and from various sources he has compiled a list of thirty-one members of the expedition. Besides its intrinsic worth the volume will be welcomed as a revival of publishing on the part of the Cortes Society and the Bancroft Library.

CONTINUACIÓN DEL LIBRO BLANCO: CONTROVERSIAS ENTRE GUATEMALA Y LA GRAN BRETAÑA, RELATIVA A LA CONVENCIÓN DE 1859, SOBRE ASUNTOS TERRITORIALES. [Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores.] Cuestión de Belice, Comentarios del doctor Roberto Esquivel Obregón al estudio del doctor Roberto Paragibe da Fonseca sobre la controversia angloguatemalteca, segunda serie, III. (Guatemala, C. A., Tipografía Nacional, 1942, pp. 12, gratis.)

CONTINUACIÓN DEL LIBRO BLANCO. CONTROVERSIAS ENTRE GUATEMALA Y LA GRAN BRETAÑA, RELATIVA A LA CONVENCIÓN DE 1859, SOBRE ASUNTOS TERRITORIALES. [Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores.] Cuestión de Belice, Arbitraje sobre Belice, por Sinforoso Aguilar, segunda serie, IV. (Guatemala, C. A., Tipografía Nacional, 1943, pp. 41, gratis.)

GUIDE TO THE INTER-AMERICAN CULTURAL PROGRAMS OF NON-GOVERNMENT AGENCIES IN THE UNITED STATES. (Washington, Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, 1943, planographed, pp. 181.)

INGLATERRA Y SUS PACTOS SOBRE BELICE. GUATEMALA TIENE DERECHO A REVINDICAR EL TERRITORIO ÍNTEGRO DE BELICE. Por *José Luis Mendoza*. [Publicaciones de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores.] (Guatemala, C. A., Tipografía Nacional, 1942, pp. 287, gratis.) "Nos proponemos hacer un estudio claro,

aunque sucinto, de los tratados que la Gran Bretaña negoció y que tienen alguna relación con su establecimiento en las costas de la bahía de Honduras, tierras guatemaltecas que se conocen con el nombre de *Belice* u *Honduras británica*, a fin de poner en claro, una vez mas, que, caducada la convención angloguatemalteca de 1859, Inglaterra carece en absoluto de título alguno para amparar la detención del mencionado territorio (p. 11).

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# \* \* \* \* *Historical News* \* \* \* \*

## American Historical Association

It will be noted that this issue is perhaps more *actuel* without being less historical than previous issues or than the volumes of the *Review* during the first World War. The first article, by a former President of the Association, now professor emeritus at Cornell University, was prepared, as Mr. Becker notes, as the Penrose Lecture before the American Philosophical Society. Dr. Willcox, who contributes the article on "The Tory Tradition," is now assistant professor of history at the University of Michigan. Professor Hitti holds the chair in Semitic literature in Princeton University. He is a native of the Lebanese Republic, a graduate of the American University in Beirut, and received his Ph.D. from Columbia University. His brief *History of the Arabs* has just appeared. Professor Lester Cappon while teaching American history has for over a decade been concerned as archivist and now as library consultant with the historical collections of the University of Virginia. His article summarizes the experience in record keeping and history writing in the first World War that should have applications to similar current activities.

Beginning with the first issue of the next volume in October, the names of authors of articles with identification will appear at the beginning of their contributions.

"The Story behind the Headlines," broadcast over a nation-wide network of the National Broadcasting Company for the past five years, has steadily increased its popularity with listeners. During the first three years the program was suspended during the summer months. Owing to the demand from individual stations it was then made a continuous feature throughout the year. The number of stations taking the program rose to sixty-three in 1941. The C.A.B. (Crosley) rating has increased steadily, especially since the beginning of 1943, and reached 6.5 in April. This represents 6.5 per cent of the available listening audience. It compares favorably with some highly publicized sponsored news programs. It now has the highest rating of any sustaining talks program on N.B.C. "The Story behind the Headlines" is broadcast by the National Broadcasting Company in co-operation with the American Historical Association.

## Other Historical Activities

Among the recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following, arranged in chronological order of materials, may be noted: additional photoprints (representing 1,206 pages) of manuscripts in Spanish

archives (Archivo General de Indias and Biblioteca Colombina in Seville and Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid), *ca.* 1536 to 1635; photostat of indenture involving Catesby Cocke and John Graham, of Fairfax County, Virginia, Lawrence Washington and Joseph West, October 22, 1748 (witnessed by George Washington); sixty papers of Ebenezer Foote, pertaining to New York state politics, the War of 1812, legal and family matters, 1751 to 1871 and undated; petition from the Stockbridge Indians to the General Assembly of Massachusetts, signed by Jehoikin (his mark) and Mantook Aman (his mark), May 23, 1755; one box of notes and vocabularies on the Indians of northwestern America, prepared by Abraham Alfonse Albert Gallatin, undated; Portuguese manuscript (one volume) entitled "Anticatastrofe de Portugal. Vida e sucesos del Rey D. Afonso 6º de Portugal. . . . Por um Anonimo. Madrid ano de 1762. Recopilado e traduzido da Lingoa espanhola em q[ue] foi composto, na Portugueza. Ano de 1764"; notes collected by Elizabeth S. Kite relating to Colonel John Fitzgerald (United States Revolution, friend of George Washington), to members of the Carroll and Digges families and to others, with copies of letters and documents, clippings, and other printed matter, March 12, 1768, to March 11, 1938; photograph of draft of letter from George Washington to Lord Botetourt, dated at Mount Vernon, September 9, 1770; one roll of positive microfilm of letters and documents by Thomas Jefferson and letters to him, June, 1776, to December 21, 1824 (originals in library of American Philosophical Society) (restricted); photograph of certificate by Nathanael Greene, relating to John Murray (founder of Universalism in America), May 27, 1777 (original at Tufts College); one volume of votes and resolutions, September 2, 1777, to January 3, 1778, and letter-book, November 3, 1779, to February 6, 1782, of the Navy Board of the Eastern Department, of the Continental Congress; negative and positive photostats of "rough Copy" of "On Atheism" (poem) by Phyllis Wheatley, signed "Africana," undated (original in Ridgeway Library Company of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania); photostat of "An Essay on Slavery, with submission to Divine providence, Knowing that God Rules over all things," a poem written by Jupiter Hammon, November 10, 1786 (original in Yale University Library) (restricted); typewritten copy of letter from Enoch Edwards to James Monroe, dated at London, October 2, 1795; certificate issued by Edward James, Swedish vice consul, at Bristol, England, to Johan Niles, August 4, 1807; twenty-two letters from James Knox Polk to Colonel Samuel H. Laughlin, pertaining to political matters, election of Speaker of the House in 1836, nomination of President and Vice-President in 1840 and President in 1844, dated March 15, 1822, to July 16, 1845; photograph of letter from Thomas Jefferson to the Rev. Thomas Whittemore (Universalist minister in Cambridge, Massachusetts), June 5, 1822; "Problèmes d'Arithmétique appartenant à Camille Vourion . . . de Mignéville Meurthe et Moselle France," and notebook kept by him when a college student in France in 1856, covering the dates 1852 to 1886 and including letters dated February 3 to 13, 1856; four additional diaries of Edwin A. Van Cise

(editor and lawyer of Iowa, the Black Hills, and Denver, Colorado), December 13, 1861, to September 13, 1864; two mimeographed copies of typescript of "Reminiscence of the War between the States. As told by Philip Hodnett Harralson, 1861-1912," undated; journal of an unidentified field representative of the United States Christian Commission during the Civil War, drawings of houses in Virginia and North Carolina, January 27 to March 26, 1865, and October 19, 1865; typewritten copy of narrative of the burning of Columbia, South Carolina, February 17, 1865, and journey to Fayetteville, North Carolina, with Sherman's army, February to March, 1865, by Harriette C. Keatinge, August, 1909; photograph of letter from Abraham Lincoln to Mrs. Amanda H. Hall (containing quotation "Fondly do we hope . . ." to "and righteous altogether" from his second inaugural address), March 20, 1865; a large scrapbook of manuscripts, pamphlets, a photograph, and newspaper clippings, additional to the papers of William Tecumseh Sherman and pertaining mainly to the Civil War, 1859 to 1890, but principally 1865 to 1890; one box of papers of Peregrine W. Browning (merchant and tailor of Washington, D. C.), dated 1825 to 1900 (mainly 1842 to 1847, accounts and journal concerning Panama and environs); scrapbook of newspaper clippings, with manuscript index, 1833 to 1844 and undated (from the estate of William Cabell Rives); original manuscript of poem "The Village Blacksmith" by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, written in 1841 and published in 1842; record book, kept by the Reverend John Keep, of subscriptions for purchase of the Cleveland *American* and to publish a Liberty Party paper at Cleveland, Ohio, dated Summit County, Akron and Northfield, August 14 and 20, 1847, including record of convention, August 11 and 12, 1847; two boxes of additional papers of Edward L. Hartz (captain, United States Army), 1847 to 1910 (about 305 pieces); photostat of sketch showing appearance of Thaddeus Stevens' house in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, before 1848, and photograph of parlor of the same house, showing wallpaper, "La Chasse," before it was removed at the time the house was demolished in 1924; typewritten manuscript of "The Family of Thaddeus Stevens" by Elsie Singmaster Lewars; seventeen papers of, or relating to, James Gillespie Blaine (mainly letters from him to Whitelaw Reid), March 10, 1870, to July 11, 1892 (chiefly March 10, 1870, to July 5, 1879); photostat of letter from George Armstrong Custer to Lawrence [ ], dated at Fort Lincoln, Dakota, May 19, 1874; seven boxes of papers of, or collected by, Anita Newcomb McGee, relating to the genealogy of the Simon Newcomb and allied families, and to scientific matters, covering the dates, ca. 1553 to 1935 and undated, but mainly 1880 to 1935; twenty-two packages and one folder of carbon copies of typescript records of the Matador Land and Cattle Company, Limited, of Dundee, Scotland, 1885 to 1915, and a related clipping; diary of Mrs. Mary W. Gribble (Mrs. Harry Gribble) during journey from San Francisco to Hawaii, Japan, China, and back to Japan, January 1 to July 13, 1886; letter of Robert Todd Lincoln, March 13, 1888; twenty-four boxes of papers of the Russian church (Greek Orthodox Cath-

olic) in North America and the Aleutian Islands (correspondence of Bishops Evdokim and Tikhon, etc.), mainly 1892 to 1917 (about 6,051 pieces), with list; 197 pen and ink portrait sketches of eminent scientists, with individual autograph signatures and notes, 1897 to 1936, made by the Parisian artist Robert Kastor; ten items additional to the papers of George William Norris (photographs, print of photograph, crayon portrait, printed clipping with portraits, and photostat of letter), dated March 19, 1910, to November 4, 1942; one box of additional papers of George William Norris, July 6, 1942, to April 3, 1943 (pertaining to political questions and including two letters from Franklin Delano Roosevelt) (restricted); two letters from Elbert Hubbard and one letter from Alice Hubbard to Clifton S. Wady, editor, *The Pacific Printer and Publisher*, San Francisco, California, April 22 to August 1, 1912; three volumes of papers of George Creel, consisting mainly of letters and notes by Woodrow Wilson and carbon copies of letters and notes by George Creel written to Wilson or submitted for his opinion before publication, March 14, 1917, to November 26, 1918, and March 21, 1931 (restricted); nine volumes of scrapbooks of letters, documents, printed clippings, and leaflets, and two loose programs, relating to United States Liberty Loans, 1917 to 1919 and undated; letter from Harry Augustus Garfield to Betty J. Laughlin, relating to the proficiency of James Abram Garfield, his father, in writing with either hand and in writing Greek and Latin, May 25, 1942; manuscripts and other materials of, and relating to, poets and poetry (formerly in the Rare Book Room), in amount about twelve shelves.

The National Archives has continued to receive many groups of Agriculture Department records as a result of the department's decision to transfer all its non-current records of administrative value and historical interest. The recent accessioning of the general files of the Bureau of Home Economics, 1917-37, marked the completion of the transfer of the inactive central records of all the major Agriculture Department bureaus. Naval records in the National Archives are constantly being supplemented by transfers from the department at Washington and to a less extent from the field. From the Navy Yard at Philadelphia have come records relating to its history and administration, including a "Waste Book," 1794-1801, containing an account of receipts and disbursements of timber, iron, rum, and money and references to some of the first ships to be built for the Navy. From the department at Washington have come the main correspondence files of the Office of the Secretary, 1932-40; and records of the Office of the Judge Advocate General. Notable among other recent accessions are the general correspondence files of the Office of the Secretary of the Treasury, 1822-1935; Coast Guard records, 1838-1941, consisting of vessel logs, station journals, correspondence, and fragmentary lighthouse records of Puerto Rico (1838-90) and of the Virgin Islands (1911-17); records of the former Consular Bureau of the State Department concerning American citizens abroad, 1914-20; records of the former Central Bureau of Planning

and Statistics, 1918-19, including reports to the President and copies of data sent to the Peace Conference; records of the War Department Offices of the Surgeon General, 1928-37, and the Chief Signal Officer, 1920-42; and the unpublished final report of the director general of the discontinued Army Specialist Corps, 1942. Recent publications of the National Archives designed to facilitate the work of agencies engaged in the prosecution of the war include a *Preliminary Inventory of the War Labor Policies Board Records*, compiled by Mary Walton Livingston and Leo Pascal, and two *Special Lists*: No. 3, *Records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs Relating to the United States Military Government of Cuba, 1898-1902, and the United States Provisional Government of Cuba, 1906-1909*, compiled by Kenneth Munden, and No. 4, *Records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs Relating to Puerto Rico, 1898-1934*, compiled by Kenneth Munden and Milton Greenbaum. These *Special Lists* are intended to facilitate the study of problems of the administration of occupied territories.

President Roosevelt has recently transferred to the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, New York, additional White House files, 1933-41, consisting of correspondence, memoranda, reports, and other records relating to the operation and policies of Federal agencies, to the interests and activities of such organizations as the American Red Cross, the United States Chamber of Commerce, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and the American Federation of Labor, and to such diversified subjects as immigration, disasters, taxes, music, women, and the theater. The files relating to government agencies contain correspondence between the White House and Federal officials on matters of policy, administration, appointments, the allocation of funds, the planning of new functions, and relations with Congress, particularly with reference to legislation. The files relating to organizations or special interests contain, for the most part, letters urging the President's support of certain measures, such as pension legislation, or policies, such as the maintenance of equal rights for women in government work. Other White House records received include memoranda of telephone calls made and received by the President and his secretaries, 1933-34; a chronological file of telegrams sent and received by the President, Mrs. Roosevelt, and the White House staff, 1933-39; anonymous letters, 1942; and copies of the official stenographic reports of the President's addresses and press conferences, 1942. The President has also sent to the library a file of invitations to him to speak at various functions, copies of his replies, and programs of meetings attended, 1913-19. Mr. Roosevelt's varied activities as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, as a leader of the Democratic party, and as an advocate of the League of Nations are interestingly reflected in these papers. Campaign strategy and Democratic strength on the eve of the 1936 presidential election and the political climate of the country in 1938 are discussed in letters sent to James A. Farley as chairman of the Democratic National Committee, copies of which have also been transferred to the library by the President.



A large file of Mrs. Roosevelt's correspondence, 1933-39, has been received from the White House. It is arranged by subjects, such as philanthropies, lectures, writings, social welfare, and educational activities, and social and business affairs.

Members of the staff of the National Archives who have recently been transferred or detailed to historical specialist, records officer, or similar positions in other government agencies include Dorsey W. Hyde, jr., special assistant to the Archivist, to the War Production Board; Robert D. Hubbard, executive officer, to the Navy Department; Martin P. Claussen, of the Division of Labor Department Archives, and Nona-Murray Lucke, of the office of the Assistant Director of Records Accessioning and Preservation, to the War Department; Carl L. Lokke, of the Office of Research and Records Description, to the Petroleum Administration for War; Stuart Portner, of the Division of War Department Archives, to the War Relocation Authority; and Albert H. Leisinger, jr., of the Division of State Department Archives, and Albert Post, of the Division of Labor Department Archives, to the Board of Economic Warfare. Members of the staff who have recently entered the armed or auxiliary services include Herbert E. Angel, Frank E. Bridgers, Ernest R. Bryan, Robert Claus, Chester L. Guthrie, Fred C. Halley, Alfred C. Proulx, Charles L. Stout, and Eunice Whyte.

The National Archives has recently issued in processed form reports on the records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs relating to Puerto Rico, 1898 to 1934, and on the military government of Cuba by the United States, 1898 to 1902, and the provisional government of 1906 to 1909. Selected files of the material now deposited in the Archives are listed.

Through the generosity of George Creel, head of the Committee on Public Information during World War I, the Library of Congress has recently received a valuable group of papers, including more than one hundred original letters from Woodrow Wilson and several typewritten manuscripts revised by the President. Especially interesting are Wilson's manuscripts of addresses, including the famous Fourteen Points speech of January 8, 1918, bearing corrections and revisions in his careful, distinctive handwriting. There are also drafts of letters and telegrams drawn up by Creel for Wilson's signature and a number of Creel's own proposed statements, submitted for comment. The President's handwritten notes upon all of these give evidence of his detailed consideration. Many were used, a few were rejected with a kindly word of explanation; but all show the imprint of Woodrow Wilson's thought.

The South Carolina Historical Society announces the opening of the papers of Robert Francis Withers Allston (1801-64), presented in 1933, with temporary restrictions, by Mrs. Charles Albert Hill, daughter of Governor Allston. The collection, some nine thousand items in extent, includes plantation records, business letters, and the correspondence of the Allston family through three generations.

The Library of Congress and the National Gallery of Art joined in a commemorative program and exhibition on April 13, the bicentennial of the birth of Thomas Jefferson. Both institutions brought forth their treasures of papers, portraits, manuscripts, and architectural drawings, all the work of Jefferson's versatile genius; even the original of the Declaration of Independence came out of its wartime shelter. This note from the publicity is of general interest:

Jefferson's personal library of 6,000 volumes was purchased by Congress in 1815 to replace the original library destroyed the previous year in the burning of the Capitol. Unhappily, another fire in 1851 destroyed a large part of the Jefferson collection, but a residue of some 2,000 volumes has survived. This part of Jefferson's library constitutes the nucleus around which the Library's present collections were built.

An annotated bibliography of Jefferson's library is being prepared and should be printed as soon as funds permit.

The Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America devoted its annual public session on Monday, May 3, to a commemoration of the Copernicus quadricentennial and the anniversary of the Polish constitution of May 3, 1791.

The following Guggenheim fellowships have been awarded for research in historical and related subjects: Ray A. Billington, Smith College, a history of the expansion of settlement in America, from the Atlantic Coast to the Mississippi River; John Theodore Flanagan, University of Minnesota, the literature of the Middle West from 1820, or roughly the beginnings of civilization west of the Alleghenies, to the present; Lawrence Averell Harper, University of California, economic activities and governmental regulations in the English colonies in America; Fred Harvey Harrington, University of Arkansas, diplomatic aspects of the growth of American enterprise abroad, with emphasis upon the formative years, 1865-1900; Wilbur Kitchener Jordan, University of Chicago, a history of English thought in the early seventeenth century; John Donald Lewis, Oberlin College, trends in American political thought and institutions since 1900; Elizabeth McCausland, Sarah Lawrence College, a study of the status of the artist in America from colonial times to the present, with especial attention to the relation between art and patronage; Kathleen Romoli, New York City, a history of Darien, the first colony of the American mainland, and of the discovery, conquest, and earliest colonization of the Isthmus of Panama; Townsend Scudder III, Swarthmore College, a biographical history of the town of Concord, Massachusetts, from its founding in 1635 to the present; Madeleine B. Stern, Long Island City High School, New York, a biography of Louisa May Alcott; Hugh Mason Wade, Cornish, New Hampshire, the intellectual awakening of French Canada after 1860, based upon the extensive correspondence of Francis Parkman with the principal French Canadian, English Canadian, French, and American writers on New France; Dixon Wecter, University of California at Los Angeles, the comple-

tion of a study of the relationship of soldiers to the civilian population after the United States' three major wars; David Harris Willson, University of Minnesota, a biography of James I, king of England and Scotland.

The Pulitzer Prize in history for 1943 was awarded Esther Forbes for her volume *Paul Revere and the World He Lived In*. The prize for the best biography was given Samuel Eliot Morison for his life of Columbus, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*.

Edmund Cody Burnett's *The Continental Congress* won a Loubat Prize. Unlike the Pulitzer prizes, which are awarded every year, the Loubat prizes, established in 1893 by the Duc de Loubat, are awarded every five years for "the best work on the history, geography, archaeology, ethnology, philology, or numismatics of North America."

The Alexander Prize will be awarded by the Royal Historical Society for the best essay on any subject approved by the literary directors. Essays must be sent in by February 28, 1944. For further particulars apply to the Secretary, Royal Historical Society, 96, Cheyne Walk, London, S. W. 10.

Stanford University on January 1, 1943, opened an Institute of American History. It is the purpose of the institute, as announced by the director, Edgar Eugene Robinson, executive head of the department of history, to examine current conceptions of American history and current methods of presenting American history in the schools, colleges, and universities. As director, Dr. Robinson will have an advisory committee of five: Thomas A. Bailey, Charles A. Barker, Harold W. Bradley, George H. Knoles, and Maxwell H. Savelle, all teachers of American history at Stanford.

In September, 1942, a Historical Branch was established in the Office of the Assistant Chief of Air Staff, A-2 (Intelligence), Headquarters, United States Army Air Forces. The aims are to gather materials for a permanent record and to prepare a history of all activities, functions, and units of the AAF, administrative as well as operational. Included in the branch are units dealing with administrative history, operational history, biography, popular narrative, archives, and special projects. Among the personnel of the Historical Branch are Colonel Clarence B. Lober; Major Clanton W. Williams, formerly of the University of Alabama; Colonel Hans C. Adamson, Lieutenant Colonel Falk Harmel, and Major Ernest L. Jones, all Air Corps historical writers; and various civilian historians and archivists.

An act of the general assembly, ratified in February, changed the name of the North Carolina Historical Commission to the State Department of Archives and History. The department's appropriation for the 1943-45 biennium is approximately \$54,000, as compared with \$46,440 for the 1941-43 biennium.

Dr. Robert E. Stone of the University of California, associate chief of the OPA automobile rationing branch, was granted a short leave by the rationing department so that he might organize the work of the newly created historical records office of the Office of Price Administration. The historical records office is established for the purpose of co-operating with the staff of the committee on records of war administration in the Bureau of the Budget. The historical records officer is charged with the systematic collection of significant records of major policy, organizational and administrative problems, and with the continuous analysis of such records, making such analyses available to operating officials of the agency involved.

Professor H. A. White of the University of Nebraska is continuing his preparation of a subject index to A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave's *Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640*, first announced in 1941. He now has well over thirty thousand entries on cards.

## Personal

Christopher L. Ward died February 20 in Wilmington, Delaware. Mr. Ward supplemented a distinguished legal career by wide ranging literary activity in light-hearted prose. He was president of the Historical Society of Delaware and the author of two ventures in historical popularization, *The Dutch and the Swedes on the Delaware* (1930) and *New Sweden on the Delaware* (1938).

René Lufriu y Alonso died in Havana on March 6 in his fifty-second year. He had been active in the political and cultural life of Cuba. He had been secretary of the Academia de la Historia de Cuba and was the author of biographies of a number of Cuban leaders, including Carlos Manuel de Cespedes, Antonio de la Piedra, and Manuel Sanguily.

Dr. Rowland Hill Harvey, associate professor of history in the University of California at Los Angeles, died March 10. Dr. Harvey received his doctor's degree from Stanford University in 1923 and joined the California staff the following year. His historical writing includes *Samuel Gompers, Champion of the Toiling Masses* (1935).

Mrs. Jessica Hill Bridenbaugh died on March 23. She was graduated from Radcliffe College in 1930 and obtained an M.A. the next year. She had contributed to the *Dictionary of American Biography*, to various scholarly journals, and with her husband wrote *Rebels and Gentlemen*, a history of Philadelphia published last year.

Pavel Nikolaevich Miliukov, the eminent Russian historian and statesman, died at Aix-les-Bains, France, on March 31 at the age of eighty-four. A graduate

of the University of Moscow and a student of Kliuchevsky, Miliukov achieved prominence among the Russian historians with the publication in 1892 of his monograph on *National Economy of Russia and the Reform of Peter the Great* [*Gosudarstvennoe Khoziastvo Rossii i reforma Petra Velikago*]. This was followed in quick succession by *Main Currents of Russian Historical Thought* [*Glavnyia techeniia russkoi istoricheskoi mysli*] (1897), *Studies in the History of Russian Culture* [*Ocherki po istorii russkoi kultury*] (Volumes I-III, 1896-1903), and *From the History of the Russian Intelligentsia* [*Iz istorii russkoi intelligentsii*] (1902), a collection of essays on Russian intellectual history. All these works showed not only the author's remarkable erudition and mastery of historical technique but also an unusual ability for historical synthesis. During the decades that followed Mr. Miliukov engaged mostly in political activities, first as the recognized leader of the liberal opposition in Russia and its principal spokesman in the Duma; then, after the downfall of the imperial regime, as the first minister of foreign affairs in the provisional government; and finally, since the establishment of the Soviet regime, as one of the leaders of the democratic wing of the Russian emigration. Among his works published since the Revolution many dealt with contemporary events in Russia, as for instance, his unfinished *History of the Second Russian Revolution* [*Istoriia vtoroi russkoi revoliutsii*] (Volume I, in three parts, 1921-24), *Russia in Transition* [*Rossia na Perelome*] (Volumes I-II, 1927), and *La politique extérieure des Soviets* (1934). But he also went back to his studies in the earlier periods of Russian history, and in 1937 published an entirely revised edition of the first part of his *Studies in the History of Russian Culture*. This is virtually a new book, and it is an eloquent testimony to the vitality and mental vigor of its author, who at the time of its publication was seventy-eight years old. Mr. Miliukov had many friends and many connections in this country. He lectured at the University of Chicago in the summer of 1903 and at the Lowell Institute in Boston the following winter, and he returned as a Lowell Institute lecturer in 1921. Both series of lectures subsequently were published (*Russia and Its Crisis* [1905] and *Russia To-day and To-Morrow* [1922]).

The number of competent scholars in the field of the history of science is all too small. It is therefore a considerable loss to research in this field when death takes a scholar like Professor Frederick Barry of Columbia University. Professor Barry's college and graduate training at Harvard was in the field of chemistry. It was with the teaching of chemistry that he chiefly concerned himself during the earlier part of his career, and it was as an instructor in chemistry that he joined the Columbia faculty in 1912. His growing absorption in history led to his transfer to the department of history, in which at the time of his death, April 5, he held the rank of full professor.

Mrs. Sidney Webb, one of Britain's leading socialists and wife of the first Baron Passfield, died on April 30 at the age of eighty-five. Throughout her life

Beatrice Webb devoted her energies to the cause of labor. With her husband she was a leader of the Fabian Society out of which gradually developed the Labor party. Well known for the famous "minority report," which proposed the abolition of the British Poor Law and the substitution of measures to prevent rather than palliate public destitution, Mrs. Webb also attained fame as an author. In 1936 the Webbs published their two-volume *Soviet Communism: A New Civilization*, and in the same year Mrs. Webb's autobiography, *My Apprenticeship*, appeared.

Mr. Allen C. Clark of Washington died at the age of eighty-five on May 16. By profession an insurance executive, Mr. Clark had concerned himself actively with the history of the capital city and the District of Columbia. He was for a quarter of a century president of the Columbia Historical Society and had written numerous books and papers about Washington and its public characters, including *Life and Letters of Dolly Madison* (1914), *Abraham Lincoln in the Capital City* (1925), and *Origin of the Capital City* (1927).

Mr. Edward Robins, who had been president of the Pennsylvania Historical Society since 1936, died May 21 at the age of eighty-one. He was the author among other volumes of biographies of General Sherman and Benjamin Franklin. He contributed reviews in the earlier years of the *American Historical Review*.

The Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History for 1943 at Louisiana State University were given by Bell Irvin Wiley, professor and head of the department of history, University of Mississippi. For the four lectures Professor Wiley chose as his topic "The Plain People of the Confederacy."

Halvdan Koht, formerly professor of history at the University of Oslo and the Norwegian foreign minister from 1935 to 1941, was visiting lecturer in history at Pomona College on the Johnson and Westergaard Foundations for the month of March. Dr. Koht gave several lectures on Norway and the war and a series of lectures on the development of national consciousness.

James W. Foster, associate head of the Maryland Room at the Enoch Pratt Free Library in Baltimore, has been appointed director of the Maryland Historical Society. Dr. William D. Hoyt, jr., formerly on the staff of the Alderman Library at the University of Virginia, is now assistant director of the Maryland Historical Society.

Walter B. Posey, formerly head of the history department of Birmingham-Southern College has accepted a position as professor of history at Agnes Scott College. He replaces Philip Davidson, who has been appointed professor of history and dean of the senior college and graduate school of Vanderbilt University.

Carl Vincent Confer has been appointed special lecturer in history at the University of Delaware.

Charles C. Griffin has a leave of absence from Vassar College for the duration of the war to work in the State Department, Division of South American Republics.

Edgar N. Johnson, professor of medieval history, University of Nebraska, has been granted leave of absence to join the Office of Strategic Services in Washington.

The following members of the history staffs of various educational institutions in Mississippi are now serving with the armed forces: William D. McCain, John K. Bettersworth, Glover Moore, Paul Hardin, and Moreau B. Chambers.

Horace Montgomery, State Teachers College at California, has enlisted in the United States Naval Reserve and is stationed at the Naval Pre-Flight School in Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Both the American Historical Association and the Mississippi Valley Historical Association have authorized the appointment of committees on the present status of history teaching. The senior society limited its inquiry primarily to American history at the college level. The Mississippi Valley committee was given a wider commission, including history teaching below the college level. It has been possible, however, to combine these two inquiries by the appointment of an identic committee. The membership of this committee of nine is not at this moment completed. Each association has made a small appropriation and additional funds have been obtained through a foundation grant. Professor Edgar B. Wesley of the University of Minnesota has obtained leave of absence and began his duties as executive-secretary on June 1. It is hoped to have a report ready this fall.



## Communications

THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In my review of J. F. Mozley's *Life of John Foxe* in the *American Historical Review*, October, 1942, I mentioned in passing Mozley's list of names of Marian exiles, twelve to be exact, which he thought were additions to the list given by Miss C. H. Garrett in her volume on the *Marian Exiles*. This allusion caught Miss Garrett's keen eye and I have before me her gloss on this point in the Mozley volume. By the standards she set in making up her list of exiles she finds three acceptable additions: Thomas Rose, Thomas Swinnerton (Ioannes Robarts, pseud.), and John Woolton, Bishop of Exeter. She rejects Elizabeth Berkley (women excluded from her list), Thomas Grafton, John Hellingham, Laremouth or Williamson, Lawrence King, John Price, William Traheron, Andrew Sadler, and George Constantine. At least three of these appear to be variant spellings of names already in her list. To each name Miss Garrett has appended notes to sustain her position in the matter. She would welcome any information that would bring to light a forgotten Marian exile.

Washington, D. C.

CONYERS READ



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